

PHILIPPINE  
REVIEW

2

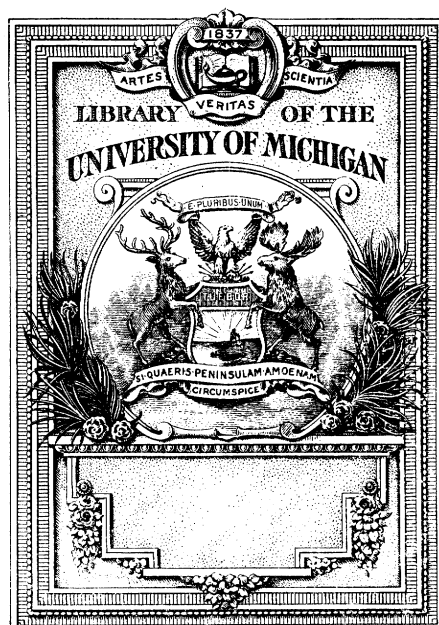
1901-2

CONTIN. OF  
PHILIPPINE  
INFORM. SOC.  
FACTS FOR  
THE PEOPLE

PUB.  
SUSPENDED

GRAD  
DS  
651  
.P56  
v. 2  
1901-02

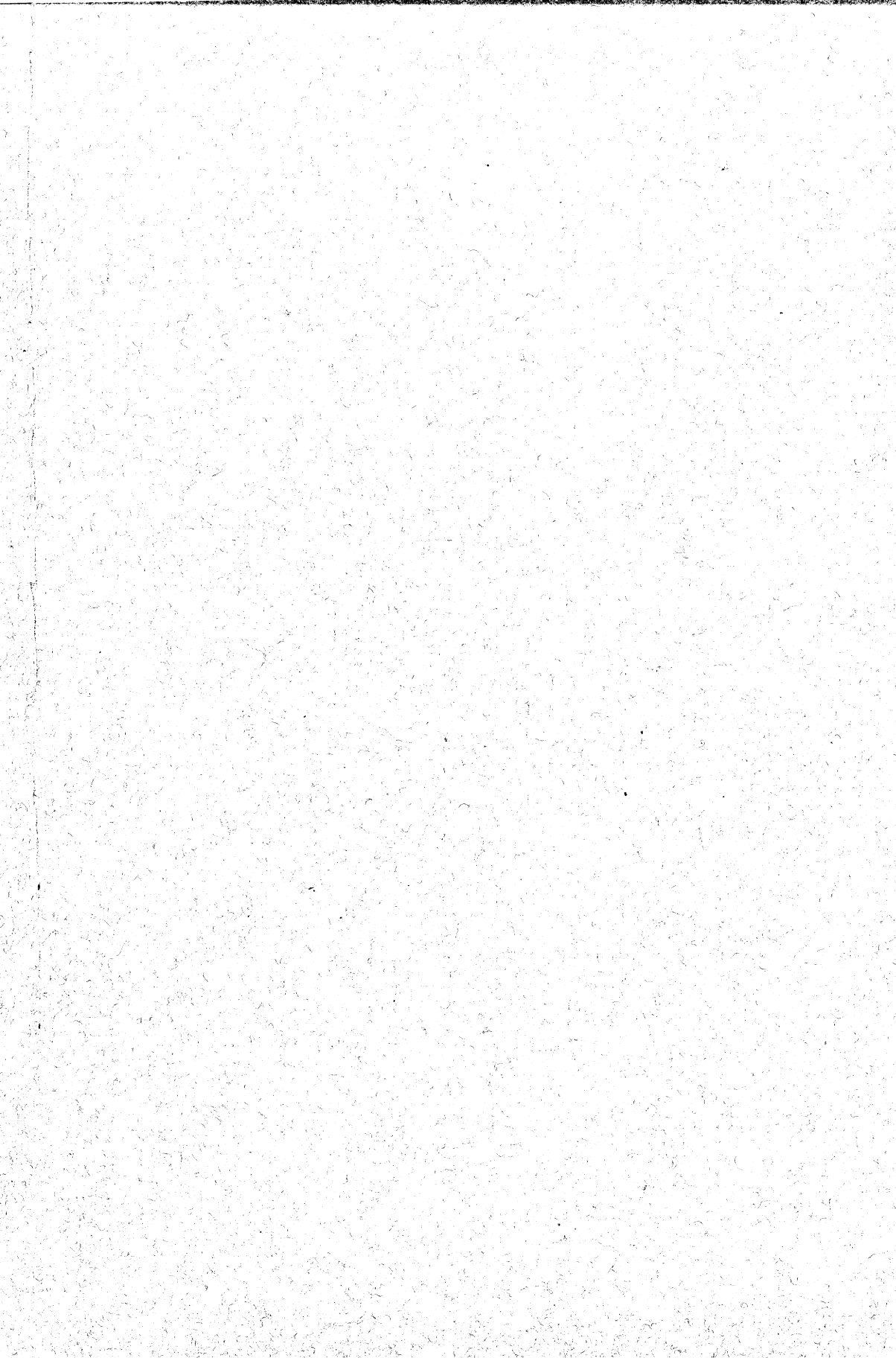
UNIV



DS  
G51  
P56  
v.2  
1901-02









# THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1901

Volume Two  
Number One

Price, 10 Cents

\$1.00 a Year

The Philippine Information Society

62 Wall Street, New York

Branch Office: 12 Otis Place, Boston, Mass.



OFFICERS OF  
THE PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY.

---

*Chairman :*

JAMES J. PUTNAM, M.D., 106 Marlborough Street, Boston.

*Vice-Chairmen :*

HENRY CARTER ADAMS, PH.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

FRANCIS BLAKE, Auburndale, Mass.

EDWARD G. BOURNE, PH.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

HENRY P. BOWDITCH, PH.D., Harvard Medical School, Boston.

ARTHUR ASTOR CARY, 50 State Street, Boston.

RICHARD WATSON GILDER, Century Building, New York.

THOMAS C. MENDENHALL, LL.D., Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.

JOSIAH ROYCE, PH.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK, PH.D., Institute of Technology, Boston.

*Secretary :*

L. K. FULLER, 12 Otis Place, Boston.

*Treasurer :*

J. PENNINGTON GARDINER, Colonial Building, Boston.

---

OFFICES :

62 WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

12 OTIS PLACE, BOSTON, MASS.

# *The Philippine Review*

*Vol. II.*

*November 1, 1901,*

*No. 1.*

---

## CONTENTS.

### Questions of Philippine Government.

As discussed by Gen. McARTHUR..... 3

Editor's Note..... 13

### Washington Letter.

By Staff Correspondent..... 15

Captured Insurgent Papers..... 19

Current Philippine Literature..... 25

Summary of Associated Press News..... 29

---

**THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW** is a monthly publication furnishing in condensed and readily comprehensible form all current information concerning the political and social conditions in the Philippines, compiled from trustworthy sources, supplemented by correspondence from competent persons in the Philippines.

**THE PRICE.**—Subscription price is \$1.00 a year, payable in advance; single copies, 10 cents. Membership in the Society is \$5.00 per annum.

**LETTERS** should be addressed, and **CHECKS** made payable, to

**The Philippine Information Society,**

62 WALL STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

0990855.

# The Philippine Review

VOL. II.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1901.

No. 1.

## QUESTIONS OF PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT

AS DISCUSSED BY

GENERAL ARTHUR MACARTHUR, U. S. A.

General MacArthur's 1901 Report, which will be appended to the Report of the Secretary of War for November, 1901, is full of interesting and important information. After almost two years at the front and more than a year as Military Governor, General MacArthur is able to speak with greater authority than almost any other American on Philippine matters. Setting aside, for the time being, his review of past events and the accompanying reports of subordinate officers, we quote below his views on certain important questions which the Philippine problem has brought forward,—namely, The Church Question, Chinese Immigration, Trade, and American Interests in the Far East.

### The Church Question.

"Practical administrative questions touching the Church and the monastical orders," General MacArthur says,\* "have not been numerous during the year. An effort has been made to adjust such as have arisen in accordance with the spirit of toleration and religious liberty which pervades the Constitu-

\* Report of July 4, 1901, page 39. Received by the War Department, August, 1901.

tion of the United States. Although the bodily presence of that instrument in the Archipelago has not been judicially declared, it has been assumed, as a fundamental principle of the military administration, that all human beings under the mantle of the American flag would, by reason of that fact alone, be brought under the impartial tenets of the constitutional guarantees.

"In pursuance of this policy, all law-abiding citizens, laymen, priests, or ministers, have been accorded such freedom of personal movement as was possible, without embarrassing military action in suppression of the insurrection.

"Notwithstanding the changed political conditions resulting from American occupation, violent public and private discussion continues as to relations existing between the people and the monastics. As a basis of debate it has been assumed that the religious corporations are inimical to Philippine interests, and that the capacity of members of the orders for mischief is co-extensive with their personal presence. That is to say, wherever a friar is found many people regard him as a menace to the community. As a consequence, great objection has been manifested against friars going to the provinces.

"Such views of the natives as are based upon the idea that the friars are capable of doing harm are believed to be erroneous, and mostly result from possibilities which the public imagination has created and magnified in the light of the past. From a purely civil and political point of view the friars have been deprived of all ability to inflict injury. If any disposition exists to such end, the capacity therefore has been completely destroyed by American supremacy.

"Another contention is brought forward to the effect that the monastics, by means of the attachment of the people to the Church, will be able to regain religious control, and thereby also regain domination in temporal and financial affairs; in which latter connection it is vehemently asserted that the religious corporations have acquired immense estates by fraudulent process, which they now hold in violation of law.

"As an easy and practical remedy in all the foregoing premises, many leading Filipinos demand the expulsion of the religious communities from the Archipelago, together with some form of condemnation of their estates; which action, of course,



is not possible under any conceivable construction of American constitutional law, and which, if entirely legal, would be exceedingly inexpedient, as it is now almost certain that under the orderly procedure prescribed by American methods all complication can be readily adjusted without any violence whatever.

"In regard to spiritual matters, the people, under American auspices, have the matter entirely in their own hands. It may, perhaps, be a little time before the consequences of self-imposed restrictions are entirely eliminated, but prediction is freely made to the effect that the people of the islands, when they come to understand the full scope of civil, political and personal liberty, will take ample care of their own religious concerns, without any governmental assistance. Some effort has been made to impart instruction in this particular, as may be seen by reference to the letter of July 6, 1900, embodied by the Military Secretary in the section of his report headed 'Church Question.'

"In respect of inquests into the titles of real property held by the orders, the useful and effective remedy would seem to be through the courts. If, in final aspect, the interests involved are found sufficiently comprehensive to justify such action, special courts might be created to try issues so presented. If property has been obtained from towns, corporations or individuals by means of intimidation, open violence, or fraud, as is frequently alleged, its long possession without challenge must be regarded as a consequence of duress, as courts wherein such issues could be tried did not exist prior to American occupation. Whatever title might, under normal conditions, have attached from prescription and occupation, could not now be effective to bar proceedings before American courts. Parties of interest, either municipalities, corporations or individuals, having inherited claims against religious corporations, would thus have a forum wherein to initiate proceedings in their own behalf, with the certainty of obtaining therein the useful effect of absolute justice.

"An inquest initiated by the government for the purpose of examining all titles held by religious corporations, with a view to voiding all found attained by fraud, would mean endless discord, political rancor, and religious resentment, that might

extend to the United States, and in the end might possibly be found entirely ineffectual to accomplish the purpose intended.

"Properly speaking, and in broad scope, there is no church question in the Philippines. Under conservative procedure, and if no extra-constitutional methods are invoked, there is nothing presented of serious import, or calculated to cause any considerable public concern."

The following is the letter,\* referred to page 5 above, defining the policy of the department toward the Friars:

MANILA, P. I., July 6, 1900.

*"To the Commanding General,  
Department of Northern Luzon.*

*"Sir:—*

"I have the honor, by the direction of the Military Governor, to acknowledge receipt of a communication from the Commanding Officer, Second District of your department, dated April 25th last, informing this office of the arrival at Aparri of four Dominican Friars en route to Batanes Islands, and requesting that no more friars be permitted to go to the provinces within said district, expressing in that connection his very grave apprehension that trouble, dissension, and perhaps revolution would be the result of re-establishing the friars in their former positions; also a communication from Pamplona numerously signed by citizens of that place protesting against the return of the friars, which communication was forwarded on May 12th by the Commanding Officer of the Second District of your department and in which he renewed his recommendations of April 25th, as to placing a prohibition upon the return of friars to their former parishes.

"Replying to these two communications, the Military Governor directs me to state that he is prepared to assure the native citizens of the Philippine Islands that the following provision will be embodied in any form of civil government which may hereafter be established in the archipelago.

---

\* Report of July 4, 1901,

"As, under the Constitution of the United States, complete religious freedom is guaranteed, and no minister of religion can be interfered with or molested in following his calling in a peaceful and lawful manner, and there must be a complete separation of Church and State, so here the civil government of these islands hereafter to be established will give the same security to the citizens thereof, and guarantee that no form of religion shall be forced by the government upon any community, or upon any citizen of the islands; that no minister of religion in following his calling in a peaceful and lawful manner shall be interfered with or molested by the government or any person; that no public funds shall be used for the support of religious organizations or any member thereof; that no official process shall be used to collect contributions from the people for the support of any church, priest, or religious order; that no minister of religion, by virtue of his being a minister, shall exercise any public or governmental office or authority; and that the separation of the Church and State must be complete and entire.

"In pursuance of the policy embodied in the foregoing paragraph it is apparent that congregations by independent individual action, so far as any governmental interference is concerned, may reject any clergyman who is not acceptable to a majority of the communicants of the parish, and prevent his ministrations therein by such means as are suitable to accomplish the purpose, provided that any action in the premises be not accompanied by application of violence.

"You are therefore authorized and requested to communicate to all commanding officers the substance of this communication to the end that information may be widely disseminated among the people in such a manner as to reach all concerned.

"Very respectfully,

"E. H. CROWDER,

"Lt. Col. 39th Infantry, U. S. Volunteers,

"Secretary."

### Chinese Immigration.

The Chinese, says General MacArthur,\* "largely endowed as they are, with inexhaustible fortitude and determination, if admitted to the Archipelago in any considerable numbers during the formative period which is now in process of evolution, would soon have direct or indirect control of pretty nearly every productive interest, to the absolute exclusion alike of Filipinos and Americans.

"This view is stated with considerable emphasis, as unmistakable indications are apparent of organized and systematized efforts to break down all barriers, with a view to unrestricted Chinese immigration, for the purpose of quick and effective exploitation of the islands; a policy which would not only be ruinous to the Filipino people, but would in the end surely defeat the expansion of American trade to its natural dimensions, in what is obviously one of the most important channels. In this connection it may not be improper to state that one of the greatest difficulties attending military efforts to tranquilize the people of the Archipelago arises from their dread of sudden and excessive exploitation, which they fear would defraud them of their natural patrimony and at the same time relegate them to a status of social and political inferiority.

"Reiterated assertions to the effect that native labor in the Philippines is unreliable must be accepted as coming almost exclusively from Europeans, who primarily are exploiters, pure and simple, and, as such, have absolutely no interest in the islands beyond the immediate realization of enormous profits. Under the old system the wages of labor were too small to establish anything like a sense of self-interest on the part of employees, and, as a consequence, solicitude for the interests of employers did not exist, and workmen as a rule, were indifferent as to their own constant employment, and had little concern about the future, as their own wishes or interests were never consulted. American experience, so far as public employees are concerned, has not confirmed the declaration of the Europeans. On the contrary it has been found that when properly paid, the Filipino is precisely like any other man, and holds on to a good place by reason of fidelity and faithful service."

\* Report of July 4, 1901, page 42.

### American Trade.

On the question of trade, General MacArthur says:\* "Under normal conditions, American trade with the islands will no doubt, go hand in hand with the growth of American ideas and the diffusion of American intelligence throughout the Archipelago. A considerable commercial result may, therefore, be shown in favor of the United States at an early date, but in all probability not such as to satisfy expectations raised by the many prophecies that have been uttered in respect of the immediate possibilities of Philippine traffic. As a matter of fact, having reference to the present and immediate future, it is not apparent how political control of the Archipelago is to bring sudden and large additions to the national wealth of the United States. Looking to the future, however, with relation to ultimate effects, this is, perhaps, the most fortunate circumstance connected with American occupation, as it may afford favorable conditions for the solution of the main Philippine problem, which, in its present aspect, involves complete re-organization of the civil institutions and social habits of a dense population, held together for the time being by force of habit only, and the conservative influence of an American army.

"If a spirit of Philippine speculation should seize the public mind in the United States, and be emphasized by means of grants, concessions and special franchises, for the purpose of quick exploitation, the political situation and the permanent interests of all concerned might be seriously jeopardized. Accordingly, what is most needed at present, in order to facilitate the organization of society on a new basis, the establishment of stable civil government, the creation of a sound money medium, and the inculcation of wholesome methods of the American thought, is a period of comparative tranquility. During such a period it might be possible to plant republican institutions deeply and firmly in the islands, in such a way as to insure the evolution of patriotic and self-supporting commonwealths, which would give sympathetic and material support in the great commercial and economic struggle with which the United States will probably be confronted in the not dis-

\* Report of July 4, 1901, page 44.

tant future, and to which brief reference will be made in the concluding paragraphs of this report."

### **American Interests in the Far East.**

With regard to America's retention of the Philippines, General MacArthur comments as follows:\*

"The opening of all Asiatic ports to unrestricted and free trade would, of course, be in the interest of nations, just in proportion as they produce a surplus of desirable commodities, of the best quality, and at the lowest cost. If the material strength of any nation of interest should at any given time happen to exceed its industrial development, the tendency of that nation would be to supplement natural advantages by diplomacy and force, and by such means to create artificial conditions in favor of armed strength and in defiance of relative economic importance.

"If any particular nation were once settled in supremacy in the Far East, there can be no doubt that trade restrictions would be introduced, monopolies would be fostered, and all possibility of a free and cosmopolitan intercourse with Asia would be effectually destroyed.

"Under the pressure of economic necessity, the powers of the world are converging on Asia and are actually face to face in North China. The possibility of a conflict between the tremendous forces involved must of necessity attract general attention, as a collision would affect the commerce of the world.

"Although these questions open an illimitable scope for the imagination of the possibilities of the future, the present purpose is simply to establish a few plain premises upon which to base the unqualified assertion that peaceful possession of the Philippine Archipelago by the United States is not only of paramount importance, but is absolutely essential to the progressive development of American national interests.

"The power that holds these islands must of necessity, and from that fact alone, exert an active and potential influence upon the affairs of Asia. The Archipelago affords an ideal strategical position. It is the stepping stone to commanding

\* Report of July 4, 1901, page 46.

influence, if not political, commercial and military supremacy, in the East. In any event, it is a base from which American interests can be effectively protected.

"When the Filipino people realize the grandeur of their future destiny by reason of association with the great Republic, and come to understand that they are a chosen people to carry not only American commerce but also republican institutions and the principles of personal liberty, throughout Asia, they may be relied upon to rally to the inspiring thoughts thus suggested and follow and support the American flag in whatever contests the future may have in store for it as the symbol of human liberty throughout the world.

"In the light, therefore, of the foregoing remarks, a broad generalization is reached, to the effect that the presence of America in these islands is simply one of the results, in logical sequence, of great material prosperity, and in remote consequences is likely to transcend in importance anything recorded in the history of the world since the discovery of America.

"To doubt the wisdom of the United States remaining in the islands is to doubt the stability of republican institutions, and amounts to a declaration that a nation thus governed is incapable of successfully resisting strains that arise naturally from its own freedom and from its own productive energy."

### **A Word of Warning.**

With regard to the conduct of affairs in the Philippines in the future, General MacArthur gives the following word of warning:\*

"It is respectfully submitted that the very gratifying conditions herein briefly recapitulated have not been brought about entirely by the hand of Providence. Neither must the attitude of the people who have declared for peace, or even that of the leaders of the Federal Party, be attributed entirely to unre-served pro-Americanism. It would, therefore, be unsafe to assume these conservative forces as constant factors, the friendly operation of which can be relied upon irrespective of external influences. In due time, and beyond any question, if beneficent republican institutions are permitted to operate in full force, the Filipino people will become warmly attached to the

\* Report of July 4, 1901, page 19.

United States by a sense of self-interest and gratitude. In the meantime the moulding force in the islands must be a well-organized army and navy. Anything in the immediate future calculated to impede the activity or reduce the efficiency of these instruments will not only be a menace to the present, but put in jeopardy the entire future of American possibilities in the Archipelago."

The rapid progress of pacification during the past year, is, to General MacArthur's mind,\* "impressive evidence of flexibility and adaptability to a situation, which encourages belief in the capacity of this people for self-regeneration by process of natural but rapid evolution. If the stages of primary tuition, under the guidance and control of constructive statesmanship, are conserved by such freedom of action as is essential to spontaneous growth, there can scarcely be a doubt as to the ultimate result. Such procedure would, of course, contemplate sustained effort through a considerable period, and in that light would be somewhat in opposition to the spirit of the age, which demands quick and visible results. In this instance, however, the receptive mass consists of many millions of people, from which enormous friction may arise as a consequence of the efforts to carry into successful operation unwise or exceptionally unacceptable laws. One of the great dangers, therefore, is the tendency to excessive experimental legislation, much of which must inevitably operate to smother initiative, rather than to inspire confidence and hope."

---

\* Report of July 4, 1901, page 18.



**EDITOR'S NOTE.****Church  
Question.**

General MacArthur, as may be seen above, believes that the Church Question is practically non-existent. The matter of the lands held by the friars, which has been conceded to be the most difficult phase of the Church problem, can, in his judgment, be satisfactorily dealt with by the courts. In this connection it will be remembered that the Taft Report for 1900, held that the titles to the lands owned by the friars (estimated at 403,713 acres) can in few instances "be successfully attacked in law, for prescription has supplied any defect which might have been in their original titles." General MacArthur, as will have been seen above, believes that the principle of prescription does not apply because under the Spanish régime there were no courts in which a Filipino could hope for justice as against the Friars.

The Taft Commission, it will be remembered, suggested as follows: that the United States Government, either by a direct loan or by a guaranty of bonds, aid the Insular Government to buy the lands held by the friars and "sell them out in small holdings to the present tenants, who, forgiven for the rent due during the two years of war, would recognize the title of the government without demur, and gladly accept an opportunity, by payment of the price in small installments, to become absolute owners of that which they and their ancestors have so long cultivated." "The bonds or loan," the Report says, "could be met gradually from the revenues of the islands, while the proceeds of the land, which would sell readily, could be used to constitute a school fund." It seems probable that Governor Taft will make some further recommendation upon this question during the next session of Congress.

**Industrial  
Development.**

Undoubtedly the most important phase of the Philippine problem, now awaiting solution, is the question of the industrial development of the islands. Under the present legislation "no sale or lease or other disposition of the public lands or the timber thereon or the mining rights shall be made: And . . . no franchise

shall be granted which is not approved by the President of the United States, and is not, in his judgment, clearly necessary for the immediate government of the islands and indispensable for the interest of the people thereof, and which cannot, without great public mischief, be postponed until the establishment of permanent civil government; and all such franchises shall terminate one year after the establishment of such permanent civil government.”\*

It may be inferred from the statement, page 9 above, that General MacArthur does not regret the limitations thus imposed upon American capital. What is imperatively needed, he says, is a period of tranquillity; grants, concessions, and special franchises, might arouse a spirit of Philippine speculation which would seriously jeopardize the political situation and the permanent interests of all concerned.

The Taft Commission, however, has taken a different position. In the cable of January 2, 1901, the Commission urgently recommended the passage of the Spooner Bill (giving the President civil power not included in his war power), without which, the Commission said, “no public franchises, and no substantial investment of private capital in internal improvements is possible. All are needed as most important steps in complete pacification . . . Hundreds of American miners on ground awaiting law to perfect claims. More coming. Good element in pacification.” In a speech, made in Manila, August 11, 1901, Governor Taft repeats (see page 30 below) that legislation providing for mining grants and special franchises, is imperatively needed, although he recommends certain limitations on the right to sell public lands. This question is also touched upon in the magazine articles by President Roosevelt, and Mr. Raymond Patterson, reviewed on pages 25 and 26 below.

---

\* Hoar Amendment to the Spooner Amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill. Cong. Record, 56th Cong., 2nd Sess., page 3411.

## WASHINGTON LETTER.

*By Staff Correspondent.*

While the sudden induction of Theodore Roosevelt into the Presidential office has an important bearing on our Philippine policies, its immediate and direct results are likely to be less striking than would have been supposed. Mr. Roosevelt was an original Philippine expansionist, and as assistant secretary of the navy in working out strategic policies for the Spanish War, was perhaps the first man to urge that the enemy's fleet in the Philippine waters be immediately crushed and that we assume control in that archipelago. From his historical training and insight it is reasonable to suppose that he knew pretty well what this would mean, and that his views as to our policy were firmly fixed much earlier than were those of his predecessor in the Presidential office. A thorough believer in the course of events which has brought about the present situation is thus at the head of national affairs, and as the second President to rule the Philippines, he approaches the task as one of fixed facts rather than as an experiment, developing under his eyes. This relation of Roosevelt to the Philippines not only bespeaks a continuance of the McKinley policies, particularly his commendable practice of picking out good men for the important positions, like Judge Taft, and Superintendent of Education Atkinson, but it also means that a man is at the helm who understands the course by which we have reached our present soundings, and so will be eager to steer our Philippine craft to the safest moorings. So much for Roosevelt as an original expansionist.

Quite contrary to commonly accepted opinions, the new President is not committed to the extreme views of Philippine retention heard in many quarters. A well informed friend writes:

"The Philippine problem cannot be solved for Mr. Roosevelt by any one else, nor would it be safe to say that he expects by the end of his three or four years in office to bring this to a definite and final solution. A better statement of his views would doubtless be that in the course of four years the Filipinos can be carried a long distance forward on their way towards

self-government. It is inconceivable that a man of Mr. Roosevelt's moral type would favor the retention of colonies merely for the sake of retaining them, if majorities both of the colonists and of the citizens of the parent country frankly desired a separation; it is equally out of the question for any one who knows the workings of his mind to suppose him in favor of turning such a people as the Filipinos loose upon the sisterhood of nations till they have been instructed in the ways of self-governing commonwealths. He would tell you that he is never an oppressor, always a civilizer; but he would hardly judge a people capable of passing intelligently upon the question of their permanent future form of government till they had tasted and tested what he regards as the ideal form."

Just after the disaster at Samar, some enthusiastic journals started the report that President Roosevelt had issued an order for "quick retribution." Of course he did nothing of the kind. The War Department is in charge of the situation and will have it handled after the manner of soldiers. There was no occasion for any order. It is true that the President is clearly in sympathy with the immediate stamping out of resistance, believing that in war severe measures are in the end the gentlest; but he is not thirsting for Philippine blood; he realizes that the inhabitants of Samar had lost ten men to our one before the disaster in question occurred, and that even now the losses of the invading army have been small compared with those of the disorganized bands who believed themselves defenders of home and fireside.

Senator Dietrich, of Nebraska, who has been to the Philippines the present summer, promptly came out with an interview asserting that Samar was filled with robbers and banditti and that our soldiers had fallen a victim to their wiles. It is hardly characteristic of banditti in this quarter of the globe to exchange lives at the ratio of ten to one with an invading army; but it seems to be a well settled policy to regard all unsubdued parts of the Philippines as inhabited by thieves and savages, while the moment a region becomes subdued, the War Department begins to give out bulletins relating to its trade and industry, its factories and mills, its steam and hydraulic plants and other evidences of an old, though an Asiatic, civilization. But perhaps this is to be expected. The purposes of historical accuracy will

generally be served by raising the estimate of Filipino resources and worth of the "before subjugation," and perhaps lowering it a little afterwards.

The career of Lukban, the leader who has been operating in Samar, is reasonably familiar. I recently came across at the War Department an appeal from him to the people of Leyte issued December 3rd, last, which I believe has never been printed here. As it doubtless typifies the unreasoning impulse back of the present movement in Samar, I venture to quote from it!

#### FELLOW CITIZENS:

The moment has arrived when you must demonstrate with greater energy than ever, your valor and patriotism. The time is at hand, when those oaths and words of fidelity given to our country under the sacred folds of our flag should be executed now by you, as dignified and honorable citizens. In one word, the hour has come when we must resort to arms, because engraved upon your faithful Filipino hearts is the cry, "Liberty or Death, Independence or Extermination."

Our sacred rights are trampled under foot! What then would you do? Hurrah! Hurrah! Follow me to the field of battle, where with your bolo in your hand, and with complete conviction in your hearts we will wage a war without quarter, against the invading enemy.

We will sprinkle our soil with our blood in testimony of our love and gratitude for our country, without fear of death, for even if he overtake us in combat it is of little moment as we gloriously fall doing our duty; ever bearing in mind that it is better to die an honorable death than to eke out a dishonorable existence, and that a grateful history will immortalize our names because in that soil soaked by our blood will indeed bud forth the tree of independence.

(Signed) V. LUKBAN.

Of course, no one here doubts the ability of the American soldiery to make a speedy end of the insurrection in Samar and in any island that may remain unsubdued. Only a few weeks before the disaster Col. A. S. Burt, of the 29th Infantry, on his return from the Philippines, had expressed a very gloomy view of the situation there, particularly in Samar, but his views were

very much discredited at the War Department as those of a natural pessimist. He said that Gen. Otis had labored for a long time with splendid success, and had come home to announce that the war over. Gen. MacArthur had taken up his work and after another year of fighting had come home to declare again that the war was over. Col. Burt implied at least that Gen. Chaffee, after encountering vigorous resistance, would come home for a triumphal tour with the same report, while other generals continued in the same way to "end the insurrection."

If this turns out to be the case, the American people will not be many years in becoming aware of it. The best evidence at all times of our Philippine conditions will be on the size of the army which it is necessary to maintain there. Gen. Corbin says that nothing in the Samar disaster leads him to modify his views already expressed as to the further reduction of the army. It now numbers about 42,000 and should in his opinion, before many months, be reduced to 30,000, which is only slightly in excess of the entire army of the United States before the Spanish War.

The coming session of Congress ought to be of great interest in its Philippine aspects. A considerable number of Senators and Representatives, mostly Southern Democrats, have visited the islands, during the present summer. Senator Beveridge, the "earth-shaker," has made a second visit there. Many of the War Department officials have also made tours of investigation. An acquaintance with the Philippines is thus becoming much more general than a year ago and many more persons will assume to speak of conditions there with some authority. Great Philippine questions will be constantly arising. It will be interesting, for example, to watch the acquiescence of the extreme protectionist element in Congress in the open door policy in the Philippines which we have established, and, so far as Spain is concerned, are under obligations to maintain for seven years more. Many "statesmen" do not take kindly to granting in anything an equality of opportunity to other nations. It will take very skillful leadership to keep them steadily in favor of the open door in the Philippines, but of course if we should close it our claim against other countries controlling territory in the far East would be greatly weakened.

## CAPTURED INSURGENT DOCUMENTS.

### The Treaty of Biac Na Bato.

The Treaty of Biac-na-Bato which terminated the Rebellion of 1896 against Spain has been a subject of much controversy. The terms of this treaty are described in the Senate Document containing the United States Treaty with Spain by General Greene, Consul Wildman, Mr. John Foreman and Felipe Agoncillo; also by the Schurmann Commission in their Report to the President, substantially as follows:

The insurgents were to lay down their arms and Aguinaldo and his associates to leave the country; Spain in return to pay them \$800,000 in silver, to grant a general amnesty, and to introduce certain reforms, viz., freedom of the press, representation in the Spanish Cortez, and expulsion or secularization of the friars. So far as the editors are aware these are the only accounts of the Treaty quoted in any public document and they were, therefore, re-printed in the pamphlet entitled, "The Islands and The People,"\* published by the Philippine Information Society, as the true version of the treaty.

On June 21, 1901, however, a report of the Treaty of Biac-na-Bato, written by Captain John R. M. Taylor, in charge of captured insurgent documents, was received in Washington† which throws a wholly different light upon the transaction. The information in this report is based upon documents on file in Manila which, it is stated, "may be considered as authentic from the fact that they were found among papers of the insurgent government. Some of them," Captain Taylor reports, "are authenticated by signatures which I recognize, having seen many specimens of the handwriting of the signers, and all of them are written on Spanish paper and in ink which

---

\* Page 30, et seq.

† Shown to the editors by the courtesy of the War Department. On file in the Division of Insular Affairs.

is somewhat faded, all of the documents having been somewhat roughly handled at various times."

In August, 1897, the report states, "there began a long series of discussions, proposals and counter-proposals," on the part of Don Pedro A. Paterno acting as Aguinaldo's representative for the insurgents on the one hand, and the Spanish Governor-General, Ferdinando Primo de Rivera on the other hand. On the 9th of August, 1897, a Treaty containing all the agreements which the insurgents claimed that the Spanish Government agreed to, was signed by Aguinaldo at Biac-na-Bato, and given to Paterno to submit to the Governor-General, who declined to agree to it, and returned it to Aguinaldo with many changes made by Paterno. The latter took it back to Aguinaldo who made some further changes at Paterno's demand. Paterno then, undoubtedly, returned it to Primo de Rivera, who approved it, and through Paterno returned it to Aguinaldo, who noted on it the fact that it had been so returned.

"The translations," says Captain Taylor, "show this, I think, clearly by the many notes in the various hand-writings. Then negotiations seem to have lingered. In July, 1898, it was current talk in Manila that the Governor-General had sent for the merchants and told them that he was unable to crush the rebellion, that if he broke up armed resistance the leaders would go into the hills with their followers and an interminable period of robbery and brigandage would set in to the ruin of trade, but that Aguinaldo had proposed to him to turn in his arms and leave the country on payment of a certain sum of money. Spain had no money to pay for the surrender of a rebel, it was really a matter which concerned Manila chiefly. If the merchants thought it worth while to supply the money, he, the Governor-General, would attend to the negotiations.

"The merchants, at some time between August and December, 1897, did find it worth while as Aguinaldo remained at Biac-na-Bato, preventing the return of peace. It is possible that the menace in his existence so near Manila may have stimulated contributions, for it is reported that some 900,000 pesos were collected. Then the negotiations were rapidly completed."



On December 14th, 1897, the approval of the Spanish Government having been obtained, the final agreement was signed at Manila. A copy of this Treaty is appended to Captain Taylor's report. It begins with a long preamble, in which the only statement of importance is to the effect that the insurrectos, in laying down their arms "realize that the state of war retards the inauguration of beneficent reforms in place of hastening them, and placing full confidence in the liberal and generous spirit of the Government of His Majesty and of his illustrious representatives in these Islands, that his efforts have been constantly directed against the inveterate abuses and ills which oppress the Filipino people." This is the only specific reference to reform in the whole document.

The Treaty proper simply states that Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the insurgent forces, Baldemero Aguinaldo, and Mariano Llanera, who hold important commands therein, shall "cease their hostile attitude," "claiming their rights as Spanish-Filipino citizens which they desire to preserve"; that they shall cause the surrender of all their followers with their arms; the Spanish Government agreeing to grant a general amnesty to all persons so surrendering and allowing them to reside wherever they choose. This document is signed by Ferdinando Primo de Rivera, in the name of the Spanish Government, and by Padro Paterno in the name of Emilio Aguinaldo; Paterno stating, "in the name of those whom he represents that they confidently expect that on account of the foresight of the Government of His Majesty that it will take into consideration and satisfy the desires of the Filipino people in order to assure them the peace and well being which they desire."

Appended to the Treaty is a programme which provides for the departure of Aguinaldo and his associates from the Philippines on a given date and states that on the "departure of these gentlemen from Biac-na-Bato, the Spanish Government will give, by Don Padro A. Paterno, to Baldemero Aguinaldo a letter payable to the order of the Filipino bank upon some bank in Hongkong, for the sum of 400,000 pesos, the cost of exchange being charged to the Spanish Government, "this sum to be payable when the arms and munitions inventoried shall have been turned in. The programme further provides that, "as soon as men in arms have come in, surrendered, to amount

to over 700, half at least of the arms being modern ones, Don Padro A. Paterno will be given two checks for the same sum, one for 200,000 pesos and the other for like amount, which will be good when the Te Deum is sung and the general amnesty proclaimed, which will be just as soon as peace reigns in the Philippines. The existence of bands of Tulisanes (armed robbers) will not be considered as a bar to this."

In accordance with the terms of this treaty, Captain Taylor states that 600,000 pesos were paid to Aguinaldo, but that the last 200,000 pesos which were to be paid when a certain number of arms were turned in and all resistance ceased, was never paid as the "arms stipulated were never turned over and many leaders, according to signed documents on file here, never surrendered, but with small bands fled to the hills and finding the life of a professional revolutionist easy and agreeable, lived as robbers until Aguinaldo returned in 1898."

The use of the money paid to Aguinaldo, is indicated by certain minutes of an insurgent meeting held at Hongkong, China, February 24th, 1898, found among insurgent public records captured by our Government. These minutes describe a former meeting held by the insurgent leaders at Biac-na-Bato on the 29th of December previous, at which it was unanimously agreed:

"1st. That Don Jose Salvador Natividad be sent to Don Pedro A. Paterno to explain to him that it is the insurgents actually damaged in their persons, families and interests who should first be the objects of the care and attention of the Government of the Republic, and they should receive some succor and indemnity for their losses, since they are the people who have enjoyed and who will enjoy the least of the benefits of the pacification, since up to the present no money has been given to them nor any assigned to them, since there is but little left in the Philippines in charge of the secretary of the treasury, Don Baldemero Aguinaldo; the exact amount is not known by those present, but according to the secretary there is hardly enough to pay off some chiefs and officials remaining at Biac-na-Bato and Cavite.

"2nd. That there exists a certain discontent in various groups of the insurgents and leaders on account of that want

of attention, in addition to the natural feelings of discontent produced in many who held a better right to a share in the benefits of the pacification than those who received them, by the fact that they have been left abandoned on these islands while others of less desert have gone abroad to live off of the so-called treasury of the insurrection.

"3rd. In consequence of this the members of the meeting feel that there is a certain difficulty in carrying into effect the provisions of the agreement, and this will remain until the sad situation of the insurgents and disheartened leaders left on the Island of Luzon be remedied.

"4th. That, as a fair and equitable remedy, they propose that the whole of the last two payments of \$400,000 be given to the most necessitous insurgents, which sum of money will be turned over to Don Jose Salvador Natividad, in accordance with the present act, for distribution."

At the Hongkong meeting, where the above minutes were read, the President reported, "that he had received a letter from Don Miguel Primo de Rivera, in the name of General Fernando Primo de Rivera stating that he would not pay the \$200,000, remaining unpaid, forming the third payment, until the complete pacification of the Philippines and the total disappearance of the Katipunan." As a consequence of this the Hongkong committee decided that, "the writing or contract made at Biac-na-Bato (Philippines) December 19, 1897, is void and of no value. Equally are null and void the parts of the 'Constitution' cited in said writing, since it is not possible to carry them out; first, because the other members of the Government, now in the Philippines, want to divide up the \$200,000 of the second payment; second, the third payment is not to be made; there is then an end to every convention which was agreed upon in the writing of the 19th of December, 1897," and therefore, the committee says, "all persons here present agree that only Señor Emilio Aguinaldo will be authorized to spend anything of that fund, except the interest, according to the plans agreed on on the 9th of last January, also that on no account will the principal or the \$400,000 be withdrawn except for the common good. If any one claims a

share in said fund Señor Aguinaldo will decide whether the claim is valid, and he will also decide what amount to pay himself for having been chief of the insurrection, and he who knows most about it, since he alone is acquainted with the merits of and demerits of his several co-adjutants. If, later on, a better place for the deposit of the \$400,000 be found, and if perhaps later on, we receive from the Spanish Government the third payment, or a bank paying a higher rate of interest be found, those here present will investigate the matter."

Captain Taylor in his report states that the money paid to Aguinaldo was never distributed, but was deposited in bank "according to documents signed by him, or members of the Hongkong Junta, now on file in this office, to be employed in preparing another attack against Spain at a favorable opportunity."

Captain Taylor explains the delay in the appearance of the actual Treaty as follows, "The agreement as sent to Spain has been read in the Cortes, but at a time when it was a dead issue. Spain had lost the Philippines, and the nature of the agreement closing the rebellion of 1896-'97, had ceased to be of any importance. The Filipinos do not care to publish the copy of the agreement which should now be in the hands of Pedro A. Paterno, because the agreement as signed has none of the provisions which they claim it has and as they attacked Spain on account of her failure to execute a document which never existed they naturally do not care to publish the facts in the case."

## CURRENT PHILIPPINE LITERATURE.

---

### IMPORTANT MAGAZINE ARTICLES ON THE PHILIPPINES

Published during August and September, 1901.

---

**Governor William H. Taft.** By THEODORE ROOSEVELT, President of the United States.—*The Outlook*, September 21, 1901.

This article was written before Mr. Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency, and is not therefore an official utterance. It reviews the unusual capacity and high character of Governor Taft, who, Mr. Roosevelt says, "combines as very, very few men, ever can combine, a standard of absolutely unflinching rectitude on every point of public duty, and a literally dauntless courage and willingness to bear responsibility, with a knowledge of men, and a far reaching tact and kindness, which enable his great abilities and high principles to be of use in a way that would be impossible were he not thus gifted with a capacity to work hand in hand with his fellows."

Mr. Roosevelt refers to the great difficulties presented by the Philippine situation, but says that, in setting to work to overcome them, Governor Taft has "the two great advantages of the hearty and generous support of his superior, the President, and the ungrudging co-operation of Secretary Root, a man as thoroughly fit for his post as Governor Taft was for his."

Under American rule, Mr. Roosevelt says great benefits have already accrued to the Filipinos, and still greater benefits are sure to follow. "It is highly important," he says, "that the laws for the Philippines permit of the great material development of the Islands. Governor Taft has most wisely insisted that it is for the immense benefit of the Islanders that great industrial enterprises spring up in the Philippines, and, of course, such industrial enterprises can only spring up if profit comes to those who undertake them. The material uplifting of the people must go together with their moral uplifting. But though it is important to have wise laws, it is more important that there should be a wise and honest administration of the laws. The statesmen at home, in Congress and out of Congress, can do their best work by following the advice and the lead of the man who is actually on the ground."

**The Peopling of the Philippines.** By RUD. VIRCHOW.—*Popular Science Monthly*, for August, 1901.

This article, written by a scientist of world-wide reputation, deals with the race question in the Philippines. It divides the Filipinos into two classes, the Negritos and the Indios. The Negritos (numbering some 25,000), are the aboriginal people, are uncivilized, and, to the writer's mind, present little hope of development.

"In spite of wide geological and biological differences on these islands," Professor Virchow says, "there exists a close anthropological agreement in the Indios in their chief characteristics." The skull of the Indio, which he gives a technical description, with measurements, "has the appearance," he says, "of a race capable of development."

**Governor Taft and our Philippine Policy.** By RAYMOND PATTERSON.—*The Review of Reviews*, for August, 1901.

In this article Mr. Patterson gives a detailed account of Governor Taft's early life, emphasizing his qualifications for his present position. In summarizing the form of government which was outlined by Mr. McKinley, and which is being followed by Governor Taft, Mr. Patterson says, "taking one consideration with another, and assuming to speak with some degree of authority, it may be said that the government devised for the Philippine Islands, so far as it relates to the civilized natives, is entirely analogous to the system now in successful operation in the District of Columbia, with the single exception, which is noteworthy, that the people of Manila will exercise the right of suffrage, while those in Washington are getting along very well without it." "For the great mass of the tribes," Mr. Patterson says, "a method of treatment has been adopted similar to that followed by this Government in dealing with the Indians."

"The Government at Manila," says Mr. Patterson, "must concern itself with still greater problems, all going to lay the foundations for a series of commonwealths, which it will take generations to develop." One essential for such commonwealths, Mr. Patterson points out, is financial independence of the United States. At present the revenue is furnished by tariff duties. "If the Supreme court, next fall, interferes to any degree," says Mr. Patterson, "with the power to collect customs duties in the islands, upon the products of either Spain or the United States, there will be serious embarrassment." Under the present legislation of Congress, nothing can be realized from the 70,000,000 acres of public lands or land with clouded titles, and therefore the internal revenue "can do no more than provide for merely municipal needs."

Mr. Patterson gives an unusually low estimate of the capacity of the Filipinos. The 200,000 Chinese Mestizos in and about Manila are, to his mind, "almost the only nucleus of the population, even remotely fitted for self-rule." It would be interesting to know Mr. Patterson's authority for this opinion.

**The Philippine Educational Exhibit.** By C. B. S.—*The Outlook*, September 7, 1901.

This article, describing the educational exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition, begins with the statement that "even in the Philippines, where the population is almost universally Malay, the ability to read is more general than in many of the provinces of Spain" which, the author comments, seems to substantiate Blumentritt's previous statement. In speaking of the notion prevalent in some countries, that the Americans are "at least part Indian," the author says: "It occurred to me that these misconceptions of America were not much more grotesque than certain prevalent misconceptions of the Philippines. There are relatively fewer Negritos in the Philippines than Indians in America, and the entire pagan and Mohammedan population there is hardly one-seventh of the whole people. The remainder have been Christian for generations, and while the public provision for education has been slight—only one school for each five thousand people—the popular desire for education has made the most of the meagre facilities."

"The Filipino children," the article says, "are mastering English with extraordinary success." The many compositions forwarded from Filipino public schools "seem to demonstrate," says the writer, "that the Filipino children 'have a remarkable talent for acquiring a foreign language.'" The article has a number of illustrations, giving an agreeable impression of native teachers and children.

**The Katipunan of the Philippines.** By Colonel L. W. V. KENNON, U. S. A.—*The North American Review*, for August, 1901.

Colonel Kennon, in this article, traces the history of the secret society in the Philippines, called the "Katipunan," from its organization in 1892 up to the present time, when its power, he says, is waning. The persistence of the insurrection against American authority Colonel Kennon attributes to the influence of the Katipunan, "a powerful, all-pervading secret organization, nominally working for liberty, appealing to native ignorance and racial prejudice, dedicated to assassination, and bold and avowedly unscrupulous in the methods by which it attains its ends."

Colonel Kennon speaks of the mass of the Filipinos as exceedingly ignorant, and of the leaders as ambitious, not for liberty, but for power over their fellow men. "The writer has yet to meet a Filipino who understands what liberty is, as we know and understand liberty in America."

**The Philippines.** *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, for September, 1901. Department of Colonies and Colonial Government (conducted by James T. Young).

This article states that the commerce of the islands is steadily increasing, the imports during 1900 having reached the highest known point in the history of the Archipelago. The exports during 1900 in-

creased more than one-third over those of 1899, although the exports to the United States increased only one-fourth.

"An interesting question relating to the executive organization of our new possessions," says the author, "has presented itself, viz., should the power to appoint the heads of departments be vested in the President of the United States, or in the governor of the territory, or dependency?" It seems probable to the author's mind that the appointing power will be given to the governor, contrary to the custom in our home territories. The Governor of Hawaii already has the appointing power, and the writer thinks it advisable that the system should be extended to Porto Rico and the Philippines.

"The greater the power of the executive department," the article continues, "the more sharply defined must be the responsibility, and after the most urgent necessity for control by the President of the United States has passed, it may be expected that a form of organization looking to a greater concentration of responsibility and power within the insular governments will be developed."



## SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS,

*July 4 to October 4.*

[Conditions on July 4, 1901, were briefly as follows: peace was practically restored throughout the archipelago, except for certain portions of Southern Luzon, and the Island of Samar. Civil government was established in 22 provinces. The most important insurgent officers still left in the field were Malvar, in Southern Luzon, and Lukban, in the island of Samar].

July 6.—The insurgent leader, Bellarmino, who had been operating in the province of Sorsogao, Luzon, surrendered on Thursday last, with 32 officers, 215 guns and 3,000 rounds of ammunition. The total number of surrenders since June in the district of Albay Bay is 1,081. Former Filipino officers, who belong to Malvar's command, report that 50 insurgents were killed in a recent two days' fight in Batangas. The 20th Infantry has been ordered from Northern Luzon to Batangas.

July 16.—Insurgent General Cabarro, with 70 men, surrenders to the United States. Town of Calapan, Island of Mindoro, also surrenders.

July 18.—The islands of Cebu, Bohol and Province of Batangas, on the Island of Luzon, have been returned to military control. The despatch says: "Several towns in Cebu are still besieged by insurgents. The insurrection in Bohol has been renewed, and insurgent sentiment in Batangas is strong." A battalion of 30th Infantry is ordered by General Chaffee to begin the occupation of the Island of Mindoro.

July 19.—Catholic authorities in Manila state that they have no intention of withdrawing the friars from the Philippines. Federal Party accused by the clerics of inciting the people against the clergy.

July 22.—Generals Chaffee and Corbin have planned to reduce the army in the Philippines to between twenty and thirty thousand men in the course of a year, and to cut down expenses by 60 per cent. in the same time.

July 24.—Colonel Zurbano, with 29 officers, 518 men, 243 rifles and 100 bolos, surrendered in Tayabas province, clearing that district of the revolutionary element.

July 29.—Major Henry Allen (Governor of Leyte) is chosen chief of constabulary, and will proceed with the organization of that force. Two native policeman killed in the vicinity of Cebu. Firing upon the town continues.

July 30.—Thirty-four insurgents, majority with rifles, captured in Batangas.

August 4.—American troops occupy three towns in Mindinao, insurgents fleeing to the interior.

August 5.—A proclamation signed by Malvar, but believed by the American authorities to be written by Agoncillo, urges the Filipinos to renew the war against the United States.

August 7.—Five hours' fight with Malvar's men in Batangas province. Two U. S. Cavalrymen killed. Insurgents escape after being driven from their position and their quarters burned.

August 11.—Governor Taft, at a banquet given in Manila, said: "In order properly to develop the Philippines, satisfactory legislation dealing with tariff reform must be passed at the next session of Congress. He also asserted that laws prohibiting the sale of public lands and timber, laws providing for the incorporation of American banks, and laws granting franchises and mining rights were imperatively demanded."

August 14.—An officer and 18 men of Malvar's command surrenders to the United States.

August 15.—A pamphlet issued in Manila, attacking Judge Taft on the Church Question, purports to be signed, but is repudiated by, the Centro Catolico.

August 16.—Col. M. Cabrera, an insurgent leader, captured by Lieut. Grant in Batangas Province. Military authorities consider this the most important capture since the capture of Aguinaldo. Three officers and 25 men surrender to the United States.

August 21.—Influential Catholics in Manila say they have reliable information from Rome that the Philippines will have nine new bishoprics, seven of which will be presided over by American prelates, giving the islands an Archbishop and twelve bishops. "Governor Taft expresses satisfaction with the result of his recent trip through the northern provinces to establish civil government there. He thinks the great rivalry between the various political factions speaks well for the interest felt in the government. Wherever it was possible, natives were invariably appointed governors."

August 25.—Surrenders for past week estimated at more than a hundred. "In the city of Manila there are now fewer than 1,000 effective soldiers, and it has been decided to increase that number by four companies of infantry. The official reason for the increase is that the guard duty is too heavy for the present force. As a matter of fact, however, there is a feeling that, although there is no apparent prospect of trouble, nevertheless, in the event of an uprising in the future, such as is always possible among the Malays, it would be better to have a sufficient body of troops available for such an emergency.

August 27.—Insurgent General Lukban surprised and wounded, in the mountains of the Island of Samar. His family and two officers captured. Governor Taft received the greatest ovation of his trip at Aparri, the northernmost city of the island of Luzon.

August 29.—Civil Governor Taft returns to Manila from the north. He is pleased with the condition of the parts of the country visited.



During his trip he established civil government at seven places, La Union, Ilocos (south and north), Abra, Cagayan, Isabela, Zambeles, and Bontoc. "He intends shortly to amalgamate the provincial governments, abolishing the cumbersome governmental machinery of the smaller provinces."

September 1.—Two new political parties are in process of formation in Manila, one headed by Señor Paterno, and the other by Señor Pubad. Both favor the ultimate independence of the Philippines. Everything points to an early surrender or capture of Malvar. It is the plan of the Military authorities, as a first step towards reducing the force in the Philippines, to make two departments instead of four, which would result in considerable saving. Manila would be the headquarters of one department, and Iloilo of the other.

September 26.—General Corbin, who has just returned from the Philippines, is reported as saying: "The organization of the troops serving in the division into separate brigades within the various departments will result in better military administration all along the line. It gives the brigade commanders substantial commands and increased powers, such as the convening of general courts martial, and relieves the division and department commanders of many details of ordinary discipline, and permits them to devote their time to more important matters of administration. General Weston consolidated the depots of his department, thereby relieving a number of staff officers, with consequent saving in money. General Sternberg reduced the number of hospitals and consolidated the medical supply depots throughout the archipelago, leaving only one of three in Manila. On his recommendation the hospital at Nagasaki was abandoned, as also was the hospital ship 'Relief,' which had become no longer needed. The ship was turned over to General Chaffee for the inter-island transportation trade.

"General Ludington, quartermaster-general, had not completed his work when General Corbin came away. He is confronted with problems of greater importance than those of the others. The troops in Luzon, for instance, are almost entirely quartered in 'conventoes' or church property, and now that quiet and order are restored, these are needed for church and school purposes. It will be difficult for the troops to be quartered elsewhere until barracks are erected, and this important question will be thoroughly investigated by General Ludington, and a complete scheme prepared."

September 30.—The following despatch is received from Manila: "Manila, September 29, Adjutant-General, Washington:—Hughes reports following from Bassey, southern Samar: Twenty-four men, Co. C., 9th Regiment, United States infantry, 11 wounded, have just arrived from Balangiga; remainder company killed. Insurgents secured all company supplies, and all rifles except three. Company was attacked during breakfast, morning September 28: company 72 strong. Officers, Thomas W. Connell, captain; Edward A. Bumpus, 1st Lieu-

tenant; Dr. R. S. Griswold, major-surgeon." A second despatch says that the troops were attacked by 400 bolomen, of whom the Americans killed about 140. Many of the soldiers were killed in their quarters before they had time to grasp their rifles. General Hughes is going to the scene of the disaster, and will personally command the troops.

October 1.—Conditions in Tayants (Tayabas?) and Batangas are not reassuring. The worst form of guerrilla warfare prevails there. The insurgent forces, distributed over every road and trail, wait for travellers in ambush. A new branch of the Katipunan has been discovered at Tarlac. The object of the society is the slaughter of the whites. Marcellino Marivalla, President of Banoang, is the chief of the new branch, which includes members of the new constabulary, who were recently armed. A regular collection has been made from the natives either by persuasion or threats. An uprising had been planned for an early date.

## FACTS ABOUT THE FILIPINOS

As found in United States Documents and Other Authentic Publications.

This series of ten pamphlets has been prepared by the Philippine Information Society with a view to rendering easily accessible to the American people the most authentic information obtainable with regard to the people of the Philippine Islands, and our relations to them. The series covers the history of Philippine affairs from May, 1898, to July, 1901, drawn chiefly from Government Documents, and furnished with full references. The publications are not edited in the interest of any party or policy, and have been generally accepted as authoritative and judicial. It is believed that they will be of particular value to students and teachers of history.

The topics dealt with in the first series are as follows:

1. The Islands and the People.
2. Were Promises made to Aguinaldo? Our Relations with the Insurgents prior to the Fall of Manila, August, 1898.
3. The Crucial Test: The Insurgent Government of 1898.
4. The Parting of the Ways: Aguinaldo and the American Generals, August, 1898, to January, 1899.
5. Crossing the Rubicon: An Episode of January, 1899, and Incidents leading up to the Outbreak of Hostilities.
6. Outbreak of Hostilities, February 4, 1899, and Seeking an Armistice, April and May, 1899.
7. Luzon Campaign of 1899.
8. Taking the Southern Islands, January, 1898, to July, 1900.
9. A Period of Guerrilla Warfare, November, 1899, to September, 1900.
10. Progress in Pacification, September, 1900, to July, 1901.

---

These Publications may be obtained from the Philippine Information Society, 62 Wall Street, N. Y. Price, \$1.00. Single Copies, 10 cents.



# THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1901

Volume Two  
Number Two

Price, 10 Cents

\$1.00 a Year

**The Philippine Information Society**

62 Wall Street, New York

Branch Office: 12 Otis Place, Boston, Mass.

Entered at New York Post Office as second-class mail matter





OFFICERS OF  
THE PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY.

---

*Chairman :*

JAMES J. PUTNAM, M.D., 106 Marlborough Street, Boston.

*Vice-Chairmen :*

HENRY CARTER ADAMS, Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

FRANCIS BLAKE, Auburndale, Mass.

EDWARD G. BOURNE, Ph.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

HENRY P. BOWDITCH, M.D., Harvard Medical School, Boston.

ARTHUR ASTOR CARY, 50 State Street, Boston.

RICHARD WATSON GILDER, Century Building, New York.

THOMAS C. MENDENHALL, LL.D., Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.

JOSIAH ROYCE, Ph.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK, Ph.D., Institute of Technology, Boston.

*Secretary :*

L. K. FULLER, 12 Otis Place, Boston.

*Treasurer :*

J. PENNINGTON GARDINER, Colonial Building, Boston.

---

OFFICES :

62 WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

12 OTIS PLACE, BOSTON, MASS.

# *The Philippine Review*

*Vol. II.*

*December 1, 1901.*

*No. 2.*

---

## CONTENTS.

### **Political Activity Among the Filipinos.**

The Federal Party ..... 35

### **Washington Letter.**

By Staff Correspondent..... 48

### **Intellectual Attainments and Education of the Filipinos .....**

52

**Current Philippine Literature.....** 65

**Summary of Associated Press News.....** 69

---

**THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW** is a monthly publication furnishing in condensed and readily comprehensible form all current information concerning the political and social conditions in the Philippines, compiled from trustworthy sources, supplemented by correspondence from competent persons in the Philippines.

**THE PRICE.**—Subscription price is \$1.00 a year, payable in advance; single copies, 10 cents. Membership in the Society is \$5.00 per annum.

**Letters** should be addressed, and **Checks** made payable, to

**The Philippine Information Society,**

62 WALL STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

# The Philippine Review

---

VOL. II.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1901.

NO. 2.

---

## **POLITICAL ACTIVITY AMONG THE FILIPINOS.**

---

### **Secret Societies.**

Governor Taft is quoted in a recent Associated Press despatch from the Philippines as stating that in his opinion "the great rivalry between the various political factions speaks well for the interest felt in the government." This interest in political affairs does not seem to be of especially recent growth.

During the last twenty-five years of Spanish rule in the Philippines two important societies were formed, the Liga Filipina (founded by Dr. Rizal), and the famous Katipunan—both mainly for political purposes. Both worked ostensibly for reforms under the Spanish Government, but were essentially anti-Spanish, and kept their proceedings profoundly secret until the discovery of the intrigues of the Katipunan precipitated the rebellion of 1896.

### **First Filipino Constitution.**

Information as to the object of this rebellion, a point which has frequently been in dispute, is contained in a captured insurgent document recently forwarded to Washington. The document entitled the Constitution of Biac-na-Bato, was drawn up by fifty-two rebel leaders on the first of November, 1897. It opens with the statement that, "The separation of the Philippines from the kingdom of Spain in order to establish a state

under its own government and authority, which will be called the Republic of the Philippines, is the principal cause of this revolution commenced on the 26th of August, 1896." This statement proves conclusively that fifty-two leaders, of whom at least twenty have since been prominent in the insurrection against the United States, aimed at independence as early as 1897.\* How far these leaders represented the masses of the people, or whether they intended the government to be republican in form as well as in name, it is not easy to say.†

There was no opportunity at this time to put the constitution into effect. The month after it was drawn up the majority of the signers exiled themselves from the Philippines by the terms of the Treaty of Biac-na-Bato.‡

---

\* This document, document, be it noted, had not been discovered, when the Schurman Commission reported that in the summer of 1898, "for the first time arose the idea of independence."

† The preamble states that the constitution is drawn up "In the name of the Republic and with the powers which the Filipino people have granted them with the hope of attaining their just desires and aspirations," and the constitution provides for the election of local presidents "by the majority of the votes of their town," and for a general Assembly to which each town in the Archipelago should send a representative; but it fails to state what the duties of the Assembly should be, or to specifically provide for the election of the President and his Counsellors who were to have the chief governing powers. Moreover a clause providing that the "Tagalo language will be the official language of the Republic" indicates that the Tagals meant to keep the balance of power in their own hands.

The following articles of the Constitution give interesting evidence concerning the early political aspirations of the Filipinos—aspirations which, it will be noted, they have frequently expressed since that date:

"Art. 22. Liberty of religion is guaranteed, freedom of association, freedom of teaching, freedom of press, also every one may choose such profession, acts, or offices of work as he desires to make his living by.

"Art. 23. Every Filipino citizen has the right to ask or petition in regard to any matter, just as though he were a lawyer, before the Counsel of the Government of the Republic.

"Art. 24. No one, not even a foreigner, can be arrested or detained except upon the express order of a competent judge, unless the offense has been committed against the state or the army.

"Art. 25. It is forbidden to confiscate the goods of anyone, even a foreigner, except in accordance with the sentence of a competent judge."

‡ See *Philippine Review*, Vol. II., No. 1, page 19 et seq.

### **Opposing Political Factions.**

With the advent of the Americans, the return of the exiles, and the subsequent forming of an insurgent government and congress, the Filipino leaders divided into two political factions—one faction favoring independence even at the cost of war with America, the other favoring annexation with the United States. The anti-annexation party, which seems to have been identified to a great extent with the Katipunans, was the dominant faction, and was in prominence until the disruption of the insurgent government and the beginning of guerrilla warfare in the fall of 1899. From that time on the movements of the anti-American party have been, in the nature of the case, hard to follow. Constant reference is found in captured insurgent letters to the "Nationalist Party," which seems to have represented the war faction among the natives, and included either actually or constructively, every insurrecto. Whether the Nationalist Party and the Katipunan were identical, and to what extent either now exists, is not definitely known.\*

### **Beginning of Peace Movement.**

From the first those in favor of annexation with the United States who are known as Americanistas or Autonomists, have steadily attempted to form a peace party. In the spring of 1899, certain of them waited upon the Schurman Commission, and seem, at that time, to have outlined a platform for the promulgation of which they bided a suitable time. In the summer of 1900 the Autonomists, in Manila, initiated a peace movement which aimed at independence under an American protectorate, although "as a sop to American pride" they suggested that their country be called "The Free Philippine State" instead of the Philippine Republic, as in the days of insurgent rule.

This movement seems to have been intended as a compromise that should appeal both to the Americans and the Filipinos in

---

\* The article entitled "The Last Phase of the Philippine War" quoted on page 66 below expresses the opinion that since the spring of 1899 the revolution has been the Katipunan Society and nothing else.

arms, thus bringing about a cessation of hostilities. But the Americans having no desire for compromise, and the Filipinos in arms being just then fired by hopes raised by the election pending in the United States, the peace movement received little support. One incident, however, connected with this movement is significant as indicating a hope that American rule meant liberty for political opposition, unheard of in Spanish days. The leaders of the peace movement drew up a document, which they presented to General MacArthur, requesting that the Filipinos be given "the guarantee of the free exercise of all the personal rights confirmed by the Constitution of the United States, and especially that of petition to the public powers of the Union. By virtue of this clause, immediately upon the adoption of these measures the Philippine political parties, including the Nationalist party, which aspires to independence, will be permitted to operate freely, and two of them will be allowed to establish their clubs, committees, and press organs, both in this capital and in the provinces."

### **The Federal Party.**

- After the results of the Presidential election of November, 1900, became known, the Americanistas seem to have found themselves no longer in a hopeless minority. Undoubtedly one reason for their previous difficulty in gaining recruits for their cause had been the reign of terror created by the war faction, for which the Katipunan seems to have been largely responsible. General MacArthur's Proclamation of December 20, 1900, promised protection for Americanistas against the insurgent element, and for the first time made possible a large and widespread pro-American party. The existence of such a party
- was proclaimed in Manila December 23, 1900, under the name of the Federal Party. This organization received the immediate and cordial support of thousands of influential Filipinos, who formed local branches throughout the Archipelago. The
  - program outlined by the party is local autonomy under American guidance as a preparation for ultimate admission as a state of the American Union. However, the party, at its initiation, dedicated itself primarily to pacifying the islands. General MacArthur states that all planks of the party platform,

save the pacification plank, are for the time held in abeyance. As an organ for peace, however, the movement has received cordial support and recognition from United States representatives in the Philippines, and has rendered valuable assistance to the civil and military branches of our government.

Governor Taft stated in January, 1901, that the party was "well organized" and "composed of best men in the islands," and in March he cabled that the speeches at the party's banquet on the eve of Washington's birthday were "most convincing of its power, purpose, (and) completely representative character." General MacArthur's July 4, 1901, report states that at that date the party bore "every evidence of vitality and cohesion." Appended to General MacArthur's report are descriptions of the origin and growth of the party, written by H. Pardo de Tavera, First President of the Party; Felipe Buencamino, and Attorney-General Don Florentino Torres, members of the Board of Directors. Buencamino's article treats more of the early pro-Americanism of certain Filipinos than of the Federal party itself, and will therefore be quoted in another connection. The articles by Tavera and Torres have been consolidated into the article given below, repetitions being omitted, and supplementary portions being arranged in their chronological order.

### **Origin and Growth of the Federal Party.\***

#### **As Described by Filipino Leaders.**

"As soon as it seemed highly probable that the sovereignty of Spain in this Archipelago would be transferred to America and that the Spanish rule would come to an end, the idea occurred to certain of the rich and educated residents of this capital and of some adjoining provinces of immediately accepting the new sovereignty.

"As the absolute independence of the country was impossible, owing to its peculiarities and those of its inhabitants, on account of its situation and of the dangers to which it was exposed by the conflicting interests of the foreign powers and the ulterior designs which they might have upon any or all

---

\* General MacArthur's Report for 1901, Appendices A and C.

of the islands, these people thought that this was the best thing that could be done.

"Various individuals of the classes mentioned conceived this idea and defended it afterwards with determination as a safe way out of difficulty. They were few in number, but they worked in good faith, being convinced that as there had never been any hope that Spain would willingly eliminate from the administration of the Archipelago the harmful monastic element, always opposed to the advancement and progress of the country and its inhabitants, or that she would consent to liberal reforms in Spanish colonial administration, the only possible way of saving these islands from anarchy in the interior, from the ambitions of certain powers or from some other colonial system similar to that of Spain, which had been determinedly fought by the revolutionists since 1896, was the frank and loyal acceptance of the sovereignty of America and the placing of the Philippine Islands under the shelter of the democratic constitution of the North American Union and the starry flag.

"These individuals were violently opposed by the great mass of the people, who were decidedly in favor of independence, and even of war to secure it, and also by a certain class of foreigners, and received the nickname of 'Americanistas.'

"They called themselves 'Autonomists' for \* \* \* the Government of the Filipino people by the Filipino people themselves, with the intervention of the representatives of the sovereign power of the Union, was and is the unchanging end and aim of said persons; for being acquainted with life under the monarchy and its immoralities, and well knowing the present situation and condition of the country and its inhabitants, they accepted unhesitatingly and with perfect good faith and loyalty the events which followed the Treaty of Paris and recognized the sovereignty of the Union without equivocation or conditions; for they sincerely believed, and still believe, that if the Philippine people are once placed under the American flag and the constitution of the most free and democratic people of America, they must of necessity share in the liberties, rights and guarantees provided in said constitution. Consequently these so-called Autonomists preferred sharing in these rights of individuals and citizens, to an independence which is uncertain, deceptive and problematical, con-



sidering that the nationality of the Philippines has not even been decided upon and recognized by foreign powers.\*

"After the outbreak of hostilities between the American and the Filipino troops in February, 1898, those of us [Autonomists] in Manila sought to constitute a party which, accepting American sovereignty, could bring about peace and permit the Filipinos under those conditions to petition the United States for such rights and privileges as they might desire, by the employment of lawful means.

"At that time a sort of delirium possessed all minds; men who reasoned dispassionately were rare, and the majority, almost the entirety, of Filipinos believed that their ideals of independence were of easy realization.

"The Filipinos did not know the United States except through the proclamations, the speeches and the orders of the Spanish authorities and articles published in the Spanish press, in all of which the United States were presented as a threatening peril, not only to liberty, but also to civilization, religion and the family. These means were also used for inculcating a belief in the debility and impotence of the United States for a struggle with the Filipinos. This was, as you are aware, the reason for the immense lack of confidence felt toward the United States by the Filipinos and their feeling of absolute security that they could overcome their great adversary in a struggle.

"In order to bring about peace it was necessary to wait with patience and confidence for the course of events to demonstrate to the Filipinos how erroneous were their beliefs. The lesson so experienced was long, and, unfortunately, cost the ruin of this country and many human lives.

"The abuses of the men who wielded power in the Philippine camp, and the injustice and discontent which prevailed everywhere, demonstrated the impossibility of organizing an independent government;† the triumph of American arms showed that the accusation of cowardice which had been spread

---

\* From the account by Attorney-General Don Florentino Torres.

† On this point Torres makes the following comment: "The dictatorial proceedings which were predominant in and characteristic of the government established in Bulacan by Aguinaldo—under an order

broadcast through the country in the time of Spanish domination was nothing but a stupid calumny, and finally the conduct of the Americans after their victories showed that they were not the cruel and wicked men they were accused of being by the Spanish civil, military and religious authorities in official documents.\*

“The horrible and disastrous effects of the war and its consequences and the unanimous desire made plain by an immense majority of the peaceful people for peace, as well as the dissolution of the so-called Filipino government and the destruction of the great multitude of armed men who resisted the army of the Union, had convinced many of the Filipinos who were formerly in favor of independence that peace was urgently necessary to avoid the destruction and ruin of the country.

“When they had once changed their original ideas—ideas still determinedly upheld by the Filipinos in arms—it was very easy for those others, through conviction and patriotism, to give up their old aspirations for independence and to reconcile themselves by the necessary change of mind to the provisions of the Treaty of Paris and to ally themselves with the Autonomists as decided partisans of the sovereignty of the United States in this country.

“The idea of independence having been laid aside and American sovereignty having been unconditionally accepted, there was no essential disagreement between those who had come over from the revolutionists and the so-called Autonomists, whom time and circumstances have proven to have been right, and from the very beginning there has been no difficulty in coming to an agreement among themselves for the purpose of founding and organizing the political party which was

which was outwardly parliamentary and constitutional; a certain amount of lawlessness maintained by the armed revolutionists who, to distinguish themselves from the civilians, called themselves military men, and the awful immorality which was rampant in all ranks from the highest to the lowest, confirmed the Filipinos above mentioned in the attitude they had assumed.”

\* From the account of H. Pardo de Tavera.

planned and which by common consent they called the Federal Party.

"The constitutional principles of the platform of the party having been carefully studied and preparatory work of organization finished with the knowledge of the authorities, all the members decided not to make their acts public at the time for the purpose of gaining new members, for the main purpose of the party was to bring about peace first, and afterwards to carry out its political program; and it was thought best to wait until such time as the success of the party could be assured; that is to say, until the refractory partisans of the much-talked-of independence should play their last card, after which the Federal Party could be pushed.

"The last hope of the revolutionists was that the presidential election in the United States would result in favor of Mr. Bryan. After the presidential election and the victory of the Republican party, and the consequent re-election of the Honorable Mr. McKinley to the presidency was known beyond a doubt in the islands, the work was taken up again with a view to the definite organization of the party with a clearly defined platform on broad principles, which would allow the most radical aspirations to be fulfilled. As the founders and supporters of the party believed that these principles constituted the only honorable means by which those who continued in arms might lay them down and recognize the sovereignty of the United States, they decided to call a public meeting, with permission of the authorities, and to proclaim to the country and the civilized world that the first political party with a platform definitely stating its aims had been constituted in the country, and that above all things it proposed to assist the American Government in bringing about peace, and in putting an end to the war, which is ruining the country and injuring everybody.\*

"The principal civil leaders of the insurrection and some of the generals were already in Manila, some of them having surrendered and others having been captured by the Union forces, and had already acknowledged the sovereignty of the

---

\* From the account by Attorney-General Don Florentino Torres.

United States. This fact was favorable to the work undertaken, convincing the people that peace was an absolute necessity and that it would be the origin and starting point of a period of justice, during which liberty would gain the rights which could never be attained by force of arms.\*

"Messrs. Buencamino, Dr. Frank S. Bourns, Ner, Arguelles, Dancel, Fabie, Yangeo, Torres, Arellano and others, full of faith and condence in their success, undertook this work. Their efforts were crowned by the convocation of a meeting which was held on the 23d day of December, 1900. In that meeting, over which Mr. Florentino Torres presided, the manifesto of the Federal Party was read, and a numerous gathering, among whom were numbers of Filipinos known for their anti-Americanistic tendencies and irreconcilable attitude toward American sovereignty, were informed of the nature of the platform of the party. The platform was adopted by all, and thus the Federal Party was established.

"I must confess, however, without desiring to offend the loyalty of any one, that this brilliant result did not cause me a great deal of satisfaction. We were living in Manila under a military régime, and it was but reasonable to suppose that many would associate themselves with the party in order that they might not appear publicly as enemies of the American Government. However, I was soon convinced of the real influence of the party and the sincerity of its members, not only on account of the rapidity of its growth in the provinces, but also by the more significant fact of the surrender of arms, subsequently, by many Nationalists who, after acknowledging the sovereignty of the United States, identified themselves with us, declaring that they were giving up the armed struggle by reason of the powerful influences exercised over them by the Federal Party. Of these facts Your Excellency is fully aware.

"For the purpose of forming committees in the different towns, we sent into the provinces delegates with proper instructions for the purpose in hand, but so great was the effect produced by our party that in many towns committees were formed prior to the arrival of our delegates, and enthusiastic adhesions were spontaneously made on every hand.

---

\* The remaining pages are taken from the account of H. Pardo de Tavera.

"The first material demonstration of the importance of the Federal Party was brought to my notice while accompanying the Civil Commission on its journey through the provinces of Pampanga, Tarlac, and Pangasinan, where, thanks to the preparatory work of the party, a representative element composed of the best classes of those provinces made for the first time a public manifestation of sympathy, confidence and adhesion to the sovereignty of the United States. And these demonstrations were of great utility, for in addition to spreading in the Philippines a new sentiment, they served to convince other Filipinos that it was already possible to demonstrate their loyalty to the new sovereignty without endangering their lives.

"On the 22nd of February last, Your Excellency had evidence of the Americanized sentiments of the Federals in Manila when you were present at that memorable manifestation on the Luneta, where more than 7,000 men of every class of society joyfully hailed the name of Washington and rendered homage, as enthusiastic as sincere, to the American banner.

"In the journeys which the Commission subsequently made to the two provinces which had been most obstinately insurgent, Bulacan and Bataan, we were able to observe at that time that our party had established peace and confidence among their inhabitants. On the journey made through the southern part of the Archipelago by the Civil Commission in which I was invited to join them as president of the Federal Party, the Honorable Commission saw—and you have also been informed, no doubt, of the same thing by your military subordinates, that our supporters had done all that they could or should do to assist the work of the government.

"In provinces where but few or no foreigners are found our committees were formed rapidly, and they succeeded in overcoming the general disconfidence of the people; but in those provinces wherein foreigners (Spaniards) reside we have had to overcome not a few difficulties, for they are not only spreading ideas which tend to incite disconfidence but, moreover, seek to convey to the members of our party a belief that when peace is re-established the American Government will persecute the Federals in order to totally destroy a peaceful Philippine body politic, after having annihilated their armed forces.

"The name which we have given our party served the Spanish press of this capital as a pretext to stimulate the chauvinistic spirit of the Filipinos to the end that another party be organized to oppose us which, instead of aspiring to federation, should look toward independence.

"Such an attitude has strengthened our party and given us an opportunity to demonstrate to the Filipinos that nothing can be so beneficial to them as the complete adoption of American civilization with the hope of some day being admitted as one of the states of the Union.

"After peace is established, all our efforts will be directed to Americanizing ourselves; to cause a knowledge of the English language to be extended and generalized in the Philippines, in order that through its agency the American spirit may take possession of us and that we may so adopt its principles, its political customs and its peculiar civilization that our redemption may be complete and radical.

"Our undertaking will not be an easy one; the ancient domination inculcated in our spirit, customs and habits which cannot be easily changed; but just as the Filipinos saw by experience that they had been deceived in supposing that independence was possible and in believing the calumnies which were heaped upon the Americans, now they will also learn by experience that the progress and civilization of our country depends upon a complete assimilation of the American spirit.

"The routine and the spirit of tradition which is peculiar to countries not in an advanced stage of civilization, and an erroneous idea concerning our own history, are reasons which have led certain Filipinos to adopt the idea of retaining as useful and glorious the enervated form of civilization left us by the former domination. Nevertheless, when passions are somewhat allayed, common sense will not be long in showing that the past domination fell because it represented miserable vestiges of a worn-out incomplete civilization, and that now, only, it can be said that the Filipinos have an opportunity of becoming completely civilized, guided by a nation truly capable of civilizing and of conferring upon other peoples the benefits of its institutions and customs.

"The Filipino people have an insatiable thirst for learning, a thirst for justice, and their tenacious resistance to the sov-

ereignty of the United States was due solely to the fear that the abuses and vexations of the ancient domination would be continued with the new. Whenever the government of the United States organizes public instruction and the administration of justice gives satisfaction to all those who appear to defend their rights, then we shall see what the feelings of our people will be toward the new sovereignty.

"The Federal Party believes in America. It believes in the Philippines. It rests assured that America, in a day not far distant, will give to the Filipinos all the rights which are enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Columbian continent, and also trusts that the Filipinos within a very short time, will realize their true interests and will enter without reserve or suspicion upon the path which the Federal Party has pointed out to them. Inspired in the American spirit, adopting the English language, reading and thinking as Americans, unto them it is given to demonstrate sooner or later to the republic of the United States that they are capable and worthy of forming part of the great Federation.

"The history of the American people, the aptitude of Filipinos for civilization, and the observation of events which have taken place in the Philippines from 1896 to the present time, justify the assertion that the Americanization of the Philippines will be more rapid than is believed by the most optimistic, and that as a consequence the triumph of the ideal of our Federal Party will be complete."

## WASHINGTON LETTER.

*By Staff Correspondent.*

Our experience with dependencies, although short, has been long enough to indicate that the tariff, always so fruitful a source of contention at home, will occasion not a few perplexities in our new relations. President Roosevelt has learned this. For the month before the assembling of Congress it has seemed to be his duty to listen to the tales poured into his ear by the representatives of special interests, preparatory to presentations to Congress of the same sort. Yesterday, a delegation of Porto Ricans called to tell him of several things for which they wished the federal government to make appropriations, even though we are not equally liberal towards our own states and old territories. In addition they told him how greatly their coffee-growers suffered from lack of protection against importations from Brazil, here and in Porto Rico. To-day a delegation from Hawaii arrived, to tell how opposed they are to reciprocity with Cuba. They are now enjoying an extraordinary bonus (although they obviously do not state the case in just that way) and are not eager to give up any part of it. As our sugar duties are high enough to give the beet-growers a chance to breath, this means a handsome premium for cane-growers, so marked is nature's preference for the cane as a sugar producer. Hence, any tropical territory which has free access to the American markets, as does Hawaii and Porto Rico, is very fortunately situated in raising sugar. To maintain the advantage, its inhabitants will make common cause with the beet-growers to keep out any new competition.

The Philippine Islands have not reached the stage of giving us much trouble with tariffs, although rumblings are already heard. The new tariff designed for that archipelago was peculiar in that schedules for one country should be made with strong incidental reference to the industries of another. The provisional schedules as recommended by the Taft Commission, after a series of hearings in Manila, were sent here and published widely in the trade journals; criticisms were invited. From all parts of the country came suggestions, for while American manufacturers and exporters would have no outward



advantage over those of other countries, there are articles peculiarly American upon which, without any differential, a low tariff would give us a natural lead. Analogously, for example, certain grades of foreign wool can get past our custom-houses at a less relative cost than others, and these are known in European wool markets as "Americans." Certain exports are as distinctly "Americans," and upon them our people wanted easy entry to the Philippines.

Most of the suggestions came from the Pacific coast, which naturally expects to profit most by the Philippine trade. Probably the most impudent one of all was that the metric system, in use in the Philippines, be changed to our standards to the disadvantage of continental European manufacturers, and a corresponding advantage to us. This proposal was, of course, promptly bowled out. But taking all the suggestions under advisement, good, bad, and indifferent, the officials of the Colonial Bureau of the War Department, recast the tariff. In doing this they called in several custom-house experts for special service particularly in terminology and phrasing.

The schedules were then sent back to Manila, where the Taft Commission was given a final opportunity to suggest changes. This it did in a few instances by cable, and its suggestions, to close the affair promptly, were generally accepted, and the new tariff was accordingly promulgated. It went into operation November 15th. In general, it levies specific duties at rates equivalent to from twenty to twenty-five per cent. *ad valorem*. Revenue needs were the first consideration. The articles prohibited are:

(1) Dynamite, gunpowder, and similar explosives, and fire arms of all descriptions and detached parts therefor, unless the importer shall produce a special authorization for landing issued to him by the civil governor.

(2) Books, pamphlets, or other printed matter, painting or illustrations, figures, or other objects of an obscene or indecent character.

(3) Roulette wheels, gambling layouts, dealing boxes and all other machines, apparatus or mechanical devices used in gambling, or used in the distribution of money, cigars or other articles, when such distribution is dependent upon lot or chance.

It is also provided that duties shall be paid in United States money except that the following-named coins, now in circulation in the Philippine Islands, shall be received for customs duties and taxes at the following rates in money of the United States: Peso, fifty cents; Medio Peso, twenty-five cents; Peseta, ten cents; Media Peseta, five cents, but such rates shall be changed in accordance with a quarterly proclamation of the civil governor.

While importations from the United States are of course dutiable like those of other countries, no custom duties are imposed on articles moving from one island of the archipelago to another.

The first protestation against the new tariff as it went into operation, remains at this writing unexplained. The War Department officers are awaiting the arrival of several mails from Manila, delayed on account of the breakdown in succession of two transports, and when these come perhaps an explanation will appear for what in cable brevity was left a mystery. According to these despatches, a hat and umbrella factory, employing six hundred hands, has been obliged to close on account of the German competition which the new tariff lets in. This was the first reference to it in the Associated Press reports; two days later, by the same agency, the fact was chronicled that this concern had decided to move to Hong Kong. Most extraordinary! The tariff history of the two articles named was peculiar. One of them, umbrellas, was protected by a higher duty than under the old Spanish tariff, while the duty on hats, although lower than before, had been made so by the cable request of the Taft Commission, in its final review, and granted by the War Department on the assumption that there must be a good reason.

Most Americans would traditionally regard it as extraordinary that Filipino labor, supposed to be cheap, should stand in such terror of German competition. We have been used to protecting high priced labor against low priced, a high civilization against a low, but here is a case where the manufacturers with cheap labor want protection against manufacturers who can afford to pay as much as do those in Germany. By the next number we shall be able to account for this strange happening, and by that time, there will probably be more difficul-

ties to record, for one of the first things that the children of this republic acquire is a robust appetite for protective nutriment and they cry if they do not get all they want.

Coinage and banking and franchises are bound to occupy much of the attention of the insular committees of Congress this winter. The coinage situation is much as in all silver-using countries; there is a choice between limited coinage on government account with certain ratios maintained, or of free coinage on private account, letting the coin market take care of itself. Many students of the question here think that a distinctive Philippine dollar, to be maintained at a fixed rate of fifty per cent. of our money, with its volume reasonably limited, would be the better solution. That harmonizes with the customs of the people more than would a complete transformation to our money. It would also give a fixed value upon which merchants, importers and investors might rely. Ten dollars in local currency for a five dollar bill is what Americans are accustomed to getting here when they buy exchange on Asiatic ports. Paper money the Filipinos are not likely to use in any quantity for some time to come; all their traditions point to the extensive use of silver, and our problem is to provide it in the best way consistent with that maintenance of sound standards necessary to the development of business and the guaranteeing of security to foreign investors.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16.

# INTELLECTUAL ATTAINMENTS AND EDUCATION OF THE FILIPINOS.

FROM

THE REPORT OF THE U. S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

[The following article is made up of extracts from the chapter on "Education in the Philippines, Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Samoa," being Chapter XXIX of the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1901. Advance sheets of the chapter were furnished the editors by the courtesy of the author, Mr. Robert Lawrence Packard, of the United States Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior. Mr. Packard specifies the authorities upon which his report is based, and his reasons for his selection of material, as follows:]

## Sources of Information.

"In the following summary, besides giving the statistics of education proper in the Philippines from official sources, an attempt is made to produce evidence taken from other and foreign sources as to the character and intellectual capabilities of the Filipinos, and the results of the education which has been afforded them in the past. The account of the characteristics of a people by foreigners is always incomplete and unsatisfactory, because the observers are necessarily, if unconsciously, influenced by their own national temperaments, prejudices, and education. Especially is this true of observations made by Europeans upon a people so radically different from themselves in race, language, and antecedents as the Filipinos. It has, however, been possible to select testimony which may be regarded as entirely impartial, if equally unsympathetic, the observers having had a merely scientific interest in their work, with no political or religious bias. Their testimony to the natural capabilities of the Filipinos has been supplemented by extracts from the writings of the latter themselves, as an illustration of their ability to share in the intellectual life of the modern world. The observers referred to are a number of German and French scientific men who have

visited the Philippines within the last sixty years and have published works upon the geology, natural history, and ethnology of the islands, with observations upon the character and intellectual capacity of the Filipinos. These writers were not mere transient visitors or ordinary travelers or news collectors, but were especially qualified men who were sent to the islands, in some instances, by institutions or by their governments, to prosecute their researches, and they either remained there a long time or made repeated visits, and possessed exceptional facilities for becoming acquainted with the people. Their opinions are therefore of especial value. Besides the writings of these scientific visitors there are a great many Spanish works, both ancient and recent, upon the history and ethnology of the islands which contain a vast amount of valuable information, to which the Filipino writers have also made valuable contributions in recent years. The following summary was prepared from a study of a number of the works alluded to above, a list of which will be given in the appendix.\*

### **Three Divisions of Population.**

#### **Filipinos Proper, Wild Tribes and Moros.**

"It appears from the authorities above referred to that the natives of the Philippines may be divided, for practical purposes, into the Christianized or civilized peoples, called "Indios" by the Spaniards, who alone are now designated by the term "Filipinos," and who form the great majority of the population; the wild mountain tribes called "Infieles" (infidels or heathen) by the Spaniards; and the Mohammedans of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, to whom the Spaniards gave the name of "Moros" in memory of their ancient enemies, the Moors of Spain. Ethnologically the Filipinos, as well as the wild tribes are divided by a diversity of dialects into a number of separate peoples, who were formerly tribes, but they all have long had a common form of settled municipal life under the Spanish Government. Taking both Filipinos and wild

\* The titles of one hundred and fifty-one works are given in the appendix above referred to; of these one hundred and thirty-nine are written in Spanish, French, or German.

tribes together, there are in all sixty-nine subdivisions of the population with separate or tribal names given in the atlas of the Philippines prepared at the observatory of Manila and published by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. Some of the wild tribes consist of only a few persons. The most representative of the Filipinos are the Tagals, the Ilocanos, the Visayas (who are the most numerous) and the Vicolos or Bicolos, the Tagals being the foremost intellectually and the natural leaders of the islands. The Filipinos number about 6,000,000.

[*Summary of omitted portion:* Negritos number about 20,000 probably aboriginal people. Wild tribes retain religious beliefs, customs, and weapons of their ancestors. Number difficult to estimate, supposed to be nearly 1,000,000. Number of Malays and Moros estimated at about 500,000.]

### **Political Organization of Filipinos Proper.**

#### **Before the Advent of Spain.**

“The Filipinos proper—that is to say, the settled, civilized people whose representative men are educated professional and business men, the best of whom are, as will appear, on a par with the corresponding classes elsewhere in the world—are descendants of those dwellers on the coasts of Luzon and the Visayas who were already advanced in civilization when discovered by the Spaniards. Long before that event they had been carrying on a trade with China and Japan. Philippine vessels were seen in Malacca by the Portuguese on their arrival there in 1511, before the Philippine Islands were discovered by Magellan. Notwithstanding their conversion to Christianity, and even since their modern civilization, the Filipinos have never had a share in their own government, except for two brief periods when the right was granted to them, as it was to the Cubans and Porto Ricans, to send deputies to the Cortes, but the privilege was quickly taken away again. The islands have otherwise always been a military, or rather an ecclesiastical-military, possession of Spain; so that the position of the Filipinos in recent years has come to

be a political anomaly, a condition which was keenly felt by the educated and wealthy class.

"The history of the subjection of this mixed race—imaginative, emotional, and capable of culture—to European influences begins with their spiritual rather than their military conquest more than three centuries ago by a few Spanish Catholic missionaries, and the dominion of the conquerors, which was for the most part peacefully secured, has been administered since in such a way that the modern successors of those who were at first the devoted intellectual and spiritual benefactors of the converted heathen have become obnoxious to the descendants of the latter. The 'Indios' for many generations yielded to superior knowledge and force emanating from a distant, mysterious, and dread source of authority, but eventually, partly through the enlightenment brought by their conquerors, but especially through contact with modern European ideas, their leaders came to know their equitable rights and have demanded the exercise of them by the same methods which have been followed time after time in European history.

"The modern social organization of the population is substantially the same as the Spaniards made it three hundred years ago, who wisely forbore to run counter to the national disposition of the 'Indios' in subjecting them to Spanish rule, but diplomatically perpetuated their original organization as far as form is concerned. The reorganization was brought about in the following way:

"At the time of their discovery by the Spaniards the Filipinos were living in independent communities or villages, except in the region about Manila, in Mindanao, and Sulu, where larger governments or sultanries existed. Each village (called *barangay* in Tagalog) was governed by its *datto*, or chief, and his lieutenants, who composed the nobility of the village and formed an hereditary caste. Below them were the common people, the plebeians, and below them again the slaves, who were divided into several classes. The power of the *datos* was absolute. The caste system is inherent in the race, and remains to this day, the Spaniards having preserved its form or spirit while they took away the original authority of the chiefs and converted them into dependents of the Spanish Government.

**Reorganization Under Spain.**

"The transformation was effected mainly by means of religion. The Filipinos were naturally religious and eagerly accepted the Catholic form of Christianity, which appealed to their temperament and imagination. Their eagerness to be baptized into the new faith made them willing to become the subjects of the King of Spain, a step which they seem to have regarded almost as a consequence of baptism, so that the use of the troops after the first military demonstrations was seldom necessary to 'subdue' the settled natives, the missionaries being the heralds of the Spanish civilization, while the soldiers were only their auxiliaries. The practise of the missionaries was to unite several neighboring barangays, after they had accepted Christianity, into a new municipality or pueblo (the Spanish word for town) in order to break down the individual authority of the dattos and facilitate administration. But the members of the different barangays came together under their own chiefs, forming the wards or barrios of the compound pueblo, and resumed the old name of barangay, although in a few generations the memory of an independent political organization died out among them and the barangay was made a mere fiscal unit of fifty families.

"In order to prevent hostility on the part of the dattos their original dignity was preserved to them by the Spaniards under the mixed Spanish-Filipino title of cabeza de barangay, or barangay chief. From among these a chief of the entire municipality was elected annually by a board consisting of a certain number of the nobility of the pueblo. This head man of the pueblo received the title of capitán or gobernadorcillo (petty governor) from the Spaniards. The election was attended by the local friar (the nomination being subject to his approval), was presided over by the Spanish provincial governor or his representative, and was subject to confirmation by the Spanish governor-general at Manila. Thus both the spiritual and civil branches of the Spanish Government exercised supervision and control over the municipal government, while in form it was conducted by the native aristocracy. The gobernadorcillo was responsible to the Spanish Government for the general conduct of his pueblo and the taxes, while the



ancient hereditary authority of the chiefs of *barangay* dwindled away and they became mere tax collectors. As the actual governing authority of each chief of *barangay* was only temporary—during his term of office as *gobernadorcillo*—the sentiment of loyalty of each *barangay* for its hereditary chief became weakened in the course of time, although respect for him as a member of the caste of nobles survived and still remains.

“The *gobernadorcillo* was aided in his functions by various officers who were elected like himself, from among the nobility and received Spanish titles like those of similar communal officers in Spain. They had charge of the policing of the municipality and decided petty actions at law. These functionaries represented the old pre-Spanish village nobility, and in many cases were direct descendants of them. A modern Tagal or Visaya pueblo, with its *gobernadorcillo* and his lieutenants, and its tribunal or council house, is often likened by Europeans to a French commune, with its *maire*, *juge de paix*, and *gens d’armes*.

“The periodical transfer of allegiance by the members of a *barangay* to another chief than their own, to whose election, however, their own nobility contributed, doubtless had the effect, which the Spaniards could not have anticipated, of familiarizing the natives with a form of elective government and so of preparing the way for the revolutionary organization on a large scale which preceded the insurrection of 1896.

### **Natural Endowments.**

#### **Intellectual, Moral and Artistic.**

“As to the natural endowments of the Filipinos, understanding by that term, as has been explained, the settled, Christianized communities, the following seems to be a fair summary of the testimony of various observers. ‘The people who inhabit the great island of Luzon,’ says De Morga, ‘are of a clever disposition for anything they undertake, sharp and choleric, and resolute. All live by their labor, gains, fishing, and trade, navigating by sea from one island to another.’ Modern writers say substantially the same thing. The Ger-

man and French writers describe them as intellectually quick in many ways. They are excellent imitators, but without much originality. They are inclined to subjects which impress the imagination and appeal to the emotions rather than to matters which require mathematical reasoning; yet they are good mechanics, and there are civil, mechanical, and mining engineers and draftsmen among the professional men. They are pre-eminently artistic, and some tribes are noted for their skilled handiwork. Members of the Ilocano tribe leave their own country and travel from place to place as handicrafts men and become goldsmiths, artistic jewelers, musicians, sculptors, and wood carvers. Native sculptors and painters are patronized by the church for its many statues and pictures, and their work is praised by travelers, although most of them have only attained mediocrity in the fine arts for want of proper models. The artist Luna, whose paintings attracted attention in Madrid and Paris some years ago, was an Ilocano. His subjects were striking scenes in Roman life, such as gladiatorial contests in the arena, and are said to have been treated with natural power and fidelity to history. The selection and treatment of such subjects by a person so far removed from historical sympathy with them as a Filipino would, in the common mind, be supposed to be, show the susceptibility of the native imagination to European culture. All Filipinos are musical, and there is no pueblo without its band which plays superior music (operatic airs, for example) which was introduced by the Spaniards and is appreciated by the common people.

“As to morals and conduct the Filipinos are described as inclined to pleasure and ease, a disposition, which, perhaps, has been confirmed by the facility of getting the necessities of life—rice and fish—and the want of inducement to labor. Nevertheless, they are said by some employers to make good laborers when certain of pay. All appear to be addicted to gambling, as shown particularly in the sport of cock fighting, but not to drunkenness. They are ambitious, possess a high degree of amour propre, and will revenge insults to their pride. De Morga says that in his day ‘they considered many things and words as the greatest outrage and insult, when said to men

and women, and they were less easily forgiven than wounds or violence.\*

"The common people are described as naturally timid, but nevertheless are capable of heroic deeds under the leadership of their superiors, or when aroused by religious fanaticism.

[*Summary of omitted portions: Characterization of the Ilocanos.*]

"De los Reyes points out the superiority of the Filipino women to the men in some respects and says that they advise and guide their husbands in business affairs. It was the influence of the women that made conversion easy in early times. Other writers have made the same observation.†

### **Capacities of Different Social Classes.**

"There are three classes, (1) the principales, or the rich and influential; (2) the common people of the pueblo; and (3) the country people or peasants. The principales are of a more delicate appearance than the other classes. They are educated, and some have distinguished themselves as students. They are addicted to card playing, and some preserve the ancient despotism which distinguished their ancestors. To the lower class belong the painters, musicians, sculptors, and mechanics. They are mostly imitators, and have not had the best of teachers. They built vessels in the last century from drawings made by Europeans.

"Probably a large majority of the Filipinos can read and write their own languages, but few of them know Spanish, only those having taken the trouble to learn it who wished to use it in business. Under Spanish rule much of the routine official business of the government was conducted by the Filipinos who had learned Spanish. The common people are eager to read anything they can get which is printed in their language, but hitherto they have been starved in this respect,

\* The quotation from De Morga and that below from de los Reyes are transposed from footnotes.

† Mr. George F. Becker, who was sent to the Philippines by President McKinley in July, 1898, to investigate the mineral resources of the country, says that "the ordinary Filipino woman is brighter than her husband, and I know of no other country where women exert an equal amount of influence."

their reading having been confined to sacred subjects, the lives of saints, and poetry, while all knowledge of the intellectual movement of the modern world has been kept from them. Among their intellectual amusements is the theatre, and they follow with unflagging interest the plots of interminable plays.

[*Summary of omitted portions:* Description of dramatic performances and detail of a plot.]

### **Intellectual Attainments.**

#### **Law, Medicine, and the Church.**

“Opportunity for higher education has been offered the Filipinos by the University of Santo Tomás at Manila for nearly three hundred years (it was founded as a college in 1611, about twenty-five years before Harvard), and by various colleges and schools which have been established from time to time in the islands, principally by the friars and Jesuits, beginning at a very early period.

“Literary cultivation was always characteristic of Spanish colonial civilization, the clergy, with the urgent co-operation of the Kings of Spain, having always established schools of higher learning in the colonies which were open to the natives, and the kind of education offered in those institutions has produced lawyers, statesmen, literary men, generals, and presidents of the native blood in the various countries of Spanish America. The effect of the education introduced by the Spanish friars and of intercourse with Spaniards themselves, citizens of a Latinized, European, Catholic nation, upon the Filipinos, a people belonging to a different human family, of a radically different linguistic stock, a race, one would say, alien to the core to European ways of thought, has been, nevertheless, to give the latter a considerable tincture of the intellectual cultivation of Europe. This is seen, aside from their writings and professional occupations, in the tastes and manners of the educated classes, as described by various observers, in minutiae of conduct and allusions in conversation, which show the effects of culture. The [first] United States

Philippine Commissioners remark that 'The educated Filipinos, though constituting a minority, are far more numerous than is generally supposed, and are scattered all over the archipelago; and the commission desire to bear the strongest testimony to the high range of their intelligence, and not only to their intellectual training, but also to their social refinement, as well as to grace and charm of their personal character. These educated Filipinos, in a word, are the equals of the men one meets in similar vocations—law, medicine, business, etc.,—in Europe or America.'

"Graduates of the university have naturally betaken themselves to the only careers open to them under the political conditions in which they were to live, viz., law, medicine, and the church. Among the lawyers, Professor Semper remarked thirty years ago, were to be found advocates worthy to be compared with the best in Spain. But on account of the anti-modern spirit which prevailed at the university up to a recent period and the repression of free intellectual activity, in the islands there was neither opportunity nor inducement for ambition to undertake studies in the scientific, social, and political subjects which have been fashionable so long in Europe, but which might have had dangerous consequences in the Philippines. Nevertheless the influence of literary and professional Filipinos who had been educated at Manila and in Europe was very marked in the recent political history of the islands.

#### **Literature and Science.**

[*Summary of omitted portions:* Natural aptitude for instruction, and quickness of children. Filipinos could read and write with alphabets of their own when first discovered by Europeans. Details concerning native alphabets.]

Notwithstanding the ability of the Filipinos to read and write when first discovered, it does not appear that they had any written history or anything that could be called literature. They had poetry, but no evidence is at hand to show that it was written; their science was confined to certain arts, and their philosophy had hardly passed the stage of mythology. Whatever intellectual activity they manifested in the last three hundred years, aside from practical affairs, was mostly confined to poetry and religious writings after patterns set by the

clergy, until within recent years, after intercourse with Europe had broken down the intellectual barriers which hemmed them in, when they have turned to literature and science as well as to the practical application of learning in the professions, and have been familiarizing themselves with the advanced thought of Europe. This has been effected in spite of repression, for even after intercourse with Europe was permitted a close surveillance was exercised over all liberally educated men, who were constantly under suspicion and kept in dread of arrest and deportation, and there was a censorship of the press which it was perilous to brave. When we remember that it was the Spanish policy to keep the Filipinos in a subordinate condition, the fact that they did finally make themselves known in the world of letters and arts is remarkable. So is the persistence of the native language, which is used everywhere in the islands instead of Spanish. Spanish became the universal language of Spanish South America and Mexico, but in the Philippines the natives have retained their own tongues, except when expediency has made Spanish necessary. Another noteworthy fact is the persistence of the old pagan beliefs under the cloak of Christianity among the common people, a peculiarity which has often been noted.

“Under the conditions which prevailed in the island little intellectual activity could be expected. The Filipinos have nevertheless turned to journalism, science, statistics, history and novel writing, devoting their talents quite naturally to the amelioration of the condition of their own country. Specimens of political journalism will be given later on. The scientific writings in Spanish,—for the Filipinos must learn to write in a foreign language if they wish a hearing outside the Philippines—comprise works upon the geology and botany of the islands, the statistics of its production, and the like. Filipinos have filled chairs of chemistry, botany, medicine, and pharmacy at the university. The draftsmanship of the atlas of the Philippines, recently published by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, was the work of Filipino draftsmen under the direction of P. José Algué, S.J., the director of the observatory. Although the geological and other scientific works are not available for examination, it is easy to judge by their titles what they doubtless are. All such works

are pretty much the same everywhere. They are mostly mechanical repetitions of observations and discussions in imitation of models set at the European centers of study. From testimony before the [First] United States Philippine Commission, given by the Jesuit fathers, we infer that the Filipinos take kindly to scientific study. In ethnology Filipinos have published articles and works upon the history, religion, and customs of the Filipinos, and the early alphabets, besides essays on the modern political situation and Spanish legislation. Pardo Paterno, who was prominent in the insurrection of 1896, wrote a history of the pre-Spanish civilization of the Filipinos, and another work upon the social influence of Christianity. Of Filipino literary men the best known was the unfortunate Dr. Rizal, whose reputation as a physician and man of science has been eclipsed by his literary renown, and still more by his tragic fate. His writings, and especially his novel, 'Noli me Tangere,' which was first published in Germany (with a motto from Schiller) rendered him obnoxious to the authorities, and he was the most illustrious of the hundreds of victims who were executed at Manila for complicity in the insurrection of 1896.

"A little work by Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino, an Ilocano, entitled 'El Folk-lore Filipino' (Philippine folklore), is both valuable for its subject matter and interesting as an illustration of native disposition to enter into the sort of investigation required in such work.

[*Summary of omitted portions:* Treatment shows wide range of reading and critical faculty.]

"The author was aided in preparing his work by other Filipinos, who contributed chapters upon the folklore of their respective provinces."

## **Statistics of Education.**

### **Higher Education.**

1. The University of Santo Tomás was founded in 1611, and has always been under the Dominican order. This University has afforded the chief opportunities for higher education in the Philippines. The attendance at the University in the academic year 1895-96 (the last

year before the outbreak of the rebellion against Spain) was divided among the departments as follows:

	Matriculated	Passed	Rejected
Theology and canon law*.....	29	18	11
Jurisprudence .....	1,195	957	238
Botany .....	271	122	149
Medicine .....	753	483	270
Pharmacy .....	170	101	69
Total .....	2,418	1,681	737

2. The College of San José was founded by the Jesuit fathers in 1601. In 1875 the Government placed the direction of this institution in the hands of the rector of Santo Tomás. From that time on San José conferred degrees in medicine and pharmacy until it was closed by the American authorities.

### **Secondary Education.**

Secondary instruction is given in a number of so-called "colleges" throughout the archipelago. The attendance at these colleges in 1895 and 1896 was as follows:

San Juan de Letran.....	5,508
Santo Tomas .....	407
Ateneo municipal.....	759
Private college at Cebu.....	502
Private college at Jaro (Leyte).....	209
Private college at Nueva Caceres (Albay).....	236
Private college at Dagupan (Luzon).....	228
Private college at Vigan (Luzon).....	130
Private college at Guinabatan (Albay).....	91

Total attendance at the private colleges of first grades..... 8,070

Besides the foregoing colleges there were 67 private Latin schools in the archipelago of which 23 were in the Province of Manila, and nearly all the rest in other parts of Luzon. There was in addition a normal superior school which is classified as a secondary school. There was also a school of Agriculture, a Nautical School, a Superior School of Painting, Sculpture and Engraving, and a Military Academy.

### **Primary Education.**

Primary education in the Philippines was conducted by teachers of both sexes from the Normal School, except in Intremuras, where it was administered by the church. The number of primary schools in the whole archipelago, according to the statistics of the year 1896 was 2,167 for both sexes, there being two schools for each sex in every town of 5,000 inhabitants, three for each sex in towns of 10,000 inhabitants, and so on, the number of schools increasing in the ratio of one school master and one school mistress for each 5,000 inhabitants.

\* Which were complementary.



## CURRENT PHILIPPINE LITERATURE.

---

### Important Magazine Articles on the Philippines.

Published during October and November, 1901.

---

**Education in the Philippines.** By FREDERICK W. NASH, of the Philippine Department of Public Instruction.—*Educational Review* for October, 1901.

Mr. Nash describes the present plan of instruction for the Philippines as follows:

"A school year of ten months with four hours' elementary instruction for children and one hour's normal English instruction for the native teachers in each school day. The subjects to be taught are the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, history of the Philippines, general history, penmanship, book-keeping, physiology, civil government, nature studies and music."

"One of the characteristics of the Philippine education in the past," he says, "has been its neglect of girls, it having been deemed sufficient if they were able to read the catechism and prayer-book. Superintendent Atkinson proposes to establish a school for girls wherever there is one for boys, either in a building near the boys' school, or under the same roof, but with separate playgrounds and entrances, since co-education is not desired by these peoples, nor is it deemed desirable for them at present."

"A compulsory school law is now being considered and will probably be enacted as soon as practicable. The Filipinos themselves desire such a law, and there is no reason to believe that it would not be successful in some parts of the archipelago at the present time."

The following significant facts are given by Mr. Nash:

"Of the six hundred Filipino teachers who attended the preliminary term of the Manila normal school, representing twenty-three provinces and islands of the archipelago, it was found that fully ten per cent. could speak English quite well, and the majority of the remainder were able to understand instruction in geography, history, drawing and manual training when given in the English language. This is a remarkable showing considering the very limited instruction these teachers have been able to secure."

"The Filipino child exhibits a capability for acquiring languages and a genius for writing, drawing, and the lesser mechanical arts. The handwriting of the average Filipino schoolboy will excel in both

style and neatness that of the average American schoolboy of the same age. However, it is observed that the mental powers of Filipino children seem to diminish as they grow older, while those of the American child grow stronger and clearer to the point of physical maturity and beyond. Experience alone will demonstrate how far these peoples will admit of Anglo-Saxon culture, and the experiment will be watched with interest the world over."

**The Work of the Philippine Commission.** By BRYAN J. CLINCH.—*The American Catholic Quarterly Review* for October, 1901.

Mr. Clinch opens his article by setting forth the impossibility of the task confronting the Taft Commission,—a task similar, he says, to that which the French Citizens Commissioners attempted so unsuccessfully in Milan and Naples. "It is trying," he says, "to mould the language, religion, schooling, laws, land tenures, methods of taxation, and corporate life of a people of eight millions within a few months. It is doing all this not according to the wishes and wants of that people, but on ideas borrowed from the experience of a community foreign to them in language, race, ideas of government and social life."

The article is, in effect, a plea for the return of the friars to their parishes. Governor Taft's assertion that the majority of the Filipinos object to the return of the friars is, to Mr. Clinch's mind, based upon insufficient evidence. True, he says, there is a murderous and barbarous band of outlaws opposed to the authority of the Church, as they are opposed to the authority of the United States, but Governor Taft claims that these outlaws do not express the sentiments of the masses of the people with regard to the United States Government, and therefore he cannot consistently hold that they express the sentiments of the majority with regard to the friar question.

According to Mr. Clinch the friars are willing to return at their own risk, and in not permitting them to do so Governor Taft is acting in defiance of the wishes of the majority of the Filipinos, the United States treaty obligations, and the doctrine of the separation of Church and States. "Catholics in America," says Mr. Clinch, "are certainly bound in duty to see that the religious liberty of the Filipinos be not trampled under foot in the name of American legislation."

**The Last Phase of the Philippine War.** By CAPTAIN JOHN H. PARKER.—*The American Monthly Review of Reviews* for November, 1901.

Captain Parker says that since the fall of Malolos in the spring of 1899, the revolution has been the Katipunan Society and nothing else. He quotes Aguinaldo's proclamation to the effect that every Filipino should be considered a member of the Katipunan, and subject to its laws, and states that with the adoption of guerrilla warfare (November, 1899) the Government was handed over to the Katipunan, Aguinaldo being supreme chief.

The organization, Captain Parker says, is strictly military. The duties of its members are, to give military intelligence, report all natives suspected of lack of zeal or infidelity to the Society, to contribute money or services or supplies whenever demanded, and in general to stand ready to make any sacrifice for the Society. Any member failing in these duties is subject to the most horrible penalties.

The oath of Katipunan, "is so terrible that no oath taken subsequently has any binding force." The average native considers the Katipunan oath and the oath of allegiance to the United States as "equally imposed upon him by force," the difference being that if he violates the former he faces a horrible and inevitable death, if the latter, a light term of imprisonment. Thus, in the author's opinion, fear is the sole motive for the prolongation of guerilla warfare. The Filipino is not a coward. "The writer has seen Filipino officers stand up under hot fire, disdaining to take cover, inspiring and stimulating their men, ready to die in the discharge of what they believed to be their duty, like officers and gentlemen."

There are two methods available, says Captain Parker, to put an end to the present guerrilla warfare so injurious to both peoples. The first is "the military devastation of certain limited sections of the country, making them untenable as hiding places and retreats with the severest application of the laws of war." "The other method is to officially declare the insurrection at an end, thus depriving these guerrillas of the protection of the laws of war that have been tacitly extended to cover them." After peace is once established it will be necessary to teach the Filipinos honesty, uprightness and truthfulness before it will be possible even to think of such an independent Filipino nation as their orators now propose.

To progress along these lines, he says, four things are necessary:

"1. The formal adoption of the English language as the language of legal instruments and of the courts."

"2. Readjustment of commercial relations with the Philippines, so that the American merchant and manufacturer will not find himself at a disadvantage in this country."

"3. Education along American methods, in free public schools, at which attendance shall be compulsory, and in which the English language shall be taught, as in all other American public schools."

"4. The land titles of the country must be quieted in some way so that American capital may be safely invested."

**The Viewpoint of the Filipinos.** By CAPTAIN H. L. HAWTHORNE.—*The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, November, 1901.

This article shows a sympathetic understanding of the Filipinos. The author traces the steps by which the sentiment of the Filipino leaders towards the Americans changed from "confidence, liking and respect to distrust, hatred and ridicule," and the degrees by which this

feeling of the leaders spread among the masses, giving rise to what seemed like a national movement for independence.

It is Captain Hawthorne's belief, however, that at no time was the whole Filipino people united against us. Their apparent unanimity of opposition was, he thinks, "founded on the simple delight produced by the downfall of the Spaniards and the exhilaration of freedom, and not from any clear purpose to throw off the yoke of American control." When they once understood the purpose and character of the Americans, Captain Hawthorne says the majority of the Filipinos evidenced an "enthusiastic admiration for and support of the new government."

Captain Hawthorne speaks hopefully of the possibilities of the Filipinos. Nearly all their weaknesses of character and disposition, he believes, are due to example and custom, and are not in the blood. We will be able, he thinks, "to advance them far on the road to prosperity and civilization," and will "bring into pleasing prominence their natural tractableness, good nature, love of family, and virtuous living." "The part taken by our army in the civil settlement of the Philippine Islands," he says, will be remembered by the Filipinos "with gratitude and respect."

---

## SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS,

*October 4 to November 14.*

[Conditions on October 4, 1901, were briefly as follows: on July 4, General MacArthur had reported that with the exception of a certain portion of Southern Luzon and the Island of Samar, the Archipelago was pacified though not tranquilized. Two important insurgent officers, Malvar and Lukban, were still in the field, the former operating in Southern Luzon, the latter in Samar. Previous to July 4, civil government had been established in 22 provinces. Between July 4 and October 4, three of these provinces were returned to military rule, and civil government was established in eight new provinces.

During the same period, 64 insurgent officers and 706 men surrendered to the United States forces, and 36 were captured. The only military engagements of any importance were a five hours' fight in Batanga Province, with Malvar's men, and the massacre of September 29, at Balangiga, Island of Samar, in which 48 Americans were killed and 11 wounded. On the first of October it was reported that the worst form of guerrilla warfare prevailed in the province of Batangas, and that a new branch of the Katipunan has been discovered at Tarlac].

October 7.—A Manila despatch states that there is intense feeling throughout the army, because of the September 29th massacre at Samar, which would not be the case to any such extent had it been the work of ordinary insurgents. It has been discovered that the "authorities of the massacre" were pacificos, most of whom had taken the oath of allegiance, and many of whom, including the president of Balangiga, were actually holding office. Some of the after effects are already shown at many points, particularly in the provinces of Batangas and Manila, where disaffection is manifesting itself, although it is not likely to be allowed to go far. Officers and troops at all garrisons throughout the archipelago feel that the disaster indicates the necessity for increased vigilance.

October 11.—A detachment of the 21st Company of Macabebes to-day encountered a large force of insurgents in the province of Batangas. One Macabebe was killed and one wounded. The enemy was strongly entrenched. After two hours' fighting the Americans retreated to await re-enforcements. The insurgents who numbered over 300 were armed with Remington and Mauser rifles, and apparently had plenty of ammunition.

A teacher at Mauban was captured by insurgents while visiting a neighboring town under an escort of native police, but was released the next day on the ground that he was a non-combatant. The entire police force of Catanag, Province of Tayabas (numbering 11) has been carried off by insurgents who were armed only with bolos. The dispatch adds: "Presumably the police made no resistance, as they were well armed with carbines and revolvers."

October 14.—The military authorities at Manila have received word that General Malvar, the insurgent leader, is believed to have left the Province of Batangas, Luzon, and to be planning an operation in the Province of Bulacan, where insurgent conscription has been progressing recently, and where the country is mountainous and well adapted for guerrilla warfare. Captain Pitcher has practically stamped out the insurrection in the Island of Mindoro. The police force at Banan, Province of Batangas, has been disarmed, and the Chief of Police with several others have been placed under arrest on charge of belonging to an insurgent society and using their officers to obtain information for the insurgents.

October 18.—Four hundred bolo-men attacked a detachment of 46 men of the Ninth Infantry at Bangajon, Island of Samar, killing or wounding six. The remainder of the company arrived on the scene in time to prevent further slaughter and routed the enemy, killing over a hundred of them. It is believed that the enemy only retired for further re-enforcements. As soon as the news was received two gunboats were despatched, General Smith going in person to the scene.

October 21.—Owing to the vigilance of Lieut. Thomas M. Bains, Jr., another slaughter of American troops by insurgents of Samar was averted. An investigation showed that a priest, the presidente, and several other prominent persons were implicated in the plot. Other attempts have been discovered at other points in Samar. Re-enforcements are being rushed to the island.

The United States officers from other provinces that were supposed to be pacified, have recently arrived at Manila, and they say that the news of American disasters spreads like wildfire among the natives, who scarcely attempt to conceal their delight. The Manila constabulary discovered a large quantity of steel wagon springs which were being shipped to various districts and which investigation showed were to be used in manufacturing bolos.

The troops in Samar anticipate hard fighting. General Smith in command, has instructed the officers that the insurrection must be hammered out, and General Lukban, the insurgent leader, captured.

October 22.—Rear-Admiral Rogers sent the following cablegram to the Navy Department at Washington: "Active insurrection in Samar. New York leaves to-day for Catbalogan with 300 marines, to return to Basey and Balangiga, to co-operate with army. Nearly all naval forces concentrated on Samar patrol. Service Arethusa and Zauro, two colliers, needed and being utilized." Manila despatch says that General Chaffee believes the operations in Samar will not result in an open fight. It is hard to find armed Filipinos, but every man without occupation will be compelled to go into town. The island of Leyte is as disturbed as the island of Samar.

General Wheaton reports that a band of bolo-men have entered Tarlac Province and are distributing inflammatory bulletins warning the people to prepare to take the field in January.

October 23.—The records received from the Philippines of twenty court-martial cases, bore features of unusual barbarity and cruelty. In one instance, two American privates, captured by the insurgents, were bound to trees and strangled to death with cords, by order of Estevan San Juan, a colonel of insurgents and ranking officer in the neighborhood of Cavité.

October 24.—Officials of the War Department stated that there is no present intention of increasing General Chaffee's force. Troops whose term of enlistment expire will be replaced. "These arrangements are based on the belief that it will be necessary to maintain the Philippine army at a strength of about 40,000 men for some time to come."

October 28.—A fight is reported in the province of Iloilo, Island of Panay, in which 25 insurgents were killed and 3 captured. General Hughes regards conditions in the Island of Cebu encouraging. It is

believed that the recent manifestations in the Island of Samar were chiefly due to the lack of food. Manila despatches from Samar say that stringent and energetic measures are being taken to suppress the insurgents in that island. General Smith has notified all the presidentes and head men of the pueblos that they must surrender all arms and turn over all persons implicated in the Balangiga massacre, before November 6, or else they will be sent to Guam, the villages destroyed, and property confiscated. Ten gunboats are vigilantly patrolling the Samar coast. Most of the towns in the southern part of the island have been destroyed.

October 31.—General Chaffee forwarded the following despatch from General Hughes: "Insurrecto forces Cebu Island have come in, laid down arms in good faith, in obedience to demand of people for peace; 150 rifles, 8 brass pieces, 60 officers, 470 men. Affairs not yet satisfactory on Bohol Island; may move additional troops there to force settlement."

A despatch from Samar states that 12 American soldiers were viciously attacked by 140 insurgents, in the vicinity of San Antonio, two soldiers being killed and two wounded. Fourteen of the insurgents were killed. The American soldiers were reported to have shown great courage. General Smith has reliable information regarding the whereabouts of the insurgent leader, Lukban, who is being hard pressed. Small skirmishes take place daily. General Smith expects to clear the island of insurgents by Christmas.

November 3.—There was a public discussion to-day before the Philippine Commission of the draft of the act against treason and sedition. Many prominent Filipinos were present. Vice-Governor Wright explained that the object of the bill was to prevent the arousing of the masses of the people, who are now gradually drifting to the pursuits of peace, but who are susceptible to inflammatory utterances, to deeds of violence. Mr. Wright said: "No excuse exists for secret political organizations. Their intent must be evil. No matter what may have been the opinion of the Filipinos regarding the sovereignty of the American Government, the fact remains that the Americans are here, and, moreover, here they intend to stay."

The bill was opposed by Sabella Reyes, a Spanish journalist, who claimed that "nothing political is criminal," and that the death penalty should never be inflicted for political offences. Señor Buencamino objected to the bill on behalf of the Federal Party. Señor Bautista, at one time president of the so-called Filipino Congress, said that Sections of the proposed law had created a panic in Manila, that Spain had no such laws, that in his opinion private citizens ought not to be compelled to divulge matters within their knowledge, that the doctrine of treason ought to apply to officials only, and that the bill as drawn, opened a great opportunity to blackmail.

Advices from Samar state that in spite of the fact that all the ports of Samar are closed, supplies still reach the insurgents. Every available gunboat is now endeavoring to prevent this. The capture of Lukban's commissary has proved a great blow to the insurrection, as it renders future supplies precarious. Conditions in the Island of Leyte are annoying General Smith. A large number of junks are used for the express object of aiding the insurgents in Samar, covering the moves of fugitives, and landing provisions and clothing.

November 11.—General Lukban, the insurgent leader of Samar, has sent a message to General Smith, declaring that he will not listen to negotiations for surrender, until all the Americans have withdrawn from the Grandara Valley. General Smith has ordered every American soldier in the Islands of Samar and Leyte never to be without arms even at a meal time. He also directs that scouting must continue incessantly, and that all the rice and hemp captured must be destroyed.

The Federal Convention continues its meetings at Manila, but they are, as a rule, of a turbulent character, and little is accomplished. Many provincial delegates have already left Manila in disgust. The question of the friars has been occupying much of the time of the convention. Intense antipathy is shown towards them.

November 13.—Diaz, the presidente of Tacloban, Island of Leyte, who has been proved to be an agent of the Filipino Junta at Hongkong, has been arrested. Many incriminating papers, implicating numerous officials, were seized at the time of his arrest. The gunboat Leyte has discovered a signal station working on the Island of Leyte and communicating with insurgents on the Island of Samar by the flash light system. Three operators were arrested, and the station was destroyed. The men confessed that many recruits had been sent from Leyte to Samar.

NOVEMBER 14.—Four hundred insurgents at Buan, in the Batangas Province, southwestern Luzon, were attacked yesterday by Captain Hartman's troop of the First Cavalry. Half of the insurgents were armed with rifles. They were prepared for an attack, and were in rifle pits. The cavalry attacked the insurgents on the flank, killing 16 of them, wounding 5 and capturing 9 rifles. The insurgents broke and ran, the cavalry pursuing them. Two large boat loads of arms are reported to have been landed on the southern part of the Batangas peninsula. The arms are not yet located.



## FACTS ABOUT THE FILIPINOS.

As found in United States Documents and Other Authentic Publications.

---

This series of ten pamphlets has been prepared by the Philippine Information Society with a view to rendering easily accessible to the American people the most authentic information obtainable with regard to the people of the Philippine Islands, and our relations to them. The series covers the history of Philippine affairs from May, 1898, to July, 1901, drawn chiefly from Government Documents, and furnished with full references. The publications are not edited in the interest of any party or policy, and have been generally accepted as authoritative and judicial. It is believed that they will be of particular value to students and teachers of history.

---

The topics dealt with in the first series are as follows:

1. The Islands and the People.
2. Were Promises made to Aguinaldo? Our Relations with the Insurgents prior to the Fall of Manila, August, 1898.
3. The Crucial Test: The Insurgent Government of 1898.
4. The Parting of the Ways: Aguinaldo and the American Generals, August, 1898, to January, 1899.
5. Crossing the Rubicon: An Episode of January, 1899, and Incidents leading up to the Outbreak of Hostilities.
6. Outbreak of Hostilities, February 4, 1899, and Seeking an Armistice, April and May, 1899.
7. Luzon Campaign of 1899.
8. Taking the Southern Islands, January, 1898, to July, 1900.
9. A Period of Guerrilla Warfare, November, 1899, to September, 1900.
10. Progress in Pacification, September, 1900, to July, 1901.

---

These Publications may be obtained from the Philippine Information Society, 62 Wall Street, N. Y. Price, \$1.00. Single Copies, 10 cents.



# THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW

JANUARY, 1902

Volume Two  
Number Three

Price, 10 Cents

\$1.00 a Year

**The Philippine Information Society**

62 Wall Street, New York

Branch Office: 12 Otis Place, Boston, Mass.

OFFICERS OF  
THE PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY.

---

*Chairman :*

JAMES J. PUTNAM, M.D., 106 Marlborough Street, Boston.

*Vice-Chairmen :*

HENRY CARTER ADAMS, Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

FRANCIS BLAKE, Auburndale, Mass.

EDWARD G. BOURNE, Ph.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

HENRY P. BOWDITCH, M.D., Harvard Medical School, Boston.

ARTHUR ASTOR CARY, 50 State Street, Boston.

RICHARD WATSON GILDER, Century Building, New York.

THOMAS C. MENDENHALL, LL.D., Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.

JOSIAH ROYCE, Ph.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK, Ph.D., Institute of Technology, Boston.

*Secretary :*

L. K. FULLER, 12 Otis Place, Boston.

*Treasurer :*

J. PENNINGTON GARDINER, Colonial Building, Boston.

---

OFFICES :

62 WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

12 OTIS PLACE, BOSTON, MASS.

# *The Philippine Review.*

*Vol. II.*

*January, 1902.*

*No. 3*

## CONTENTS.

Editor's Note . . . . .	75
Secretary Root's Report for 1901 . . . . .	78
Report on Currency and Banking . . . . .	104
General Chaffee's Report for 1901 . . . . .	108
Summary of Supreme Court Decisions . . . . .	113
Washington Letter.	
By Staff Correspondent . . . . .	117
Current Philippine Literature.	
The Law and Policy of Annexation, by Carman F. Randolph . . . .	122
Summary of Associated Press News . . . . .	128

**THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW** is a monthly publication furnishing in condensed and readily comprehensible form all current information concerning the political and social conditions in the Philippines, compiled from trustworthy sources, supplemented by correspondence from competent persons in the Philippines.

**THE PRICE.**—Subscription price is \$1.00 a year, payable in advance; single copies, 10 cents. Membership in the Society is \$5 per annum.

Letters should be addressed, and Checks made payable, to

**The Philippine Information Society,**

62 WALL STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.

---

\$.....190

**PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY,**

62 Wall Street, New York.

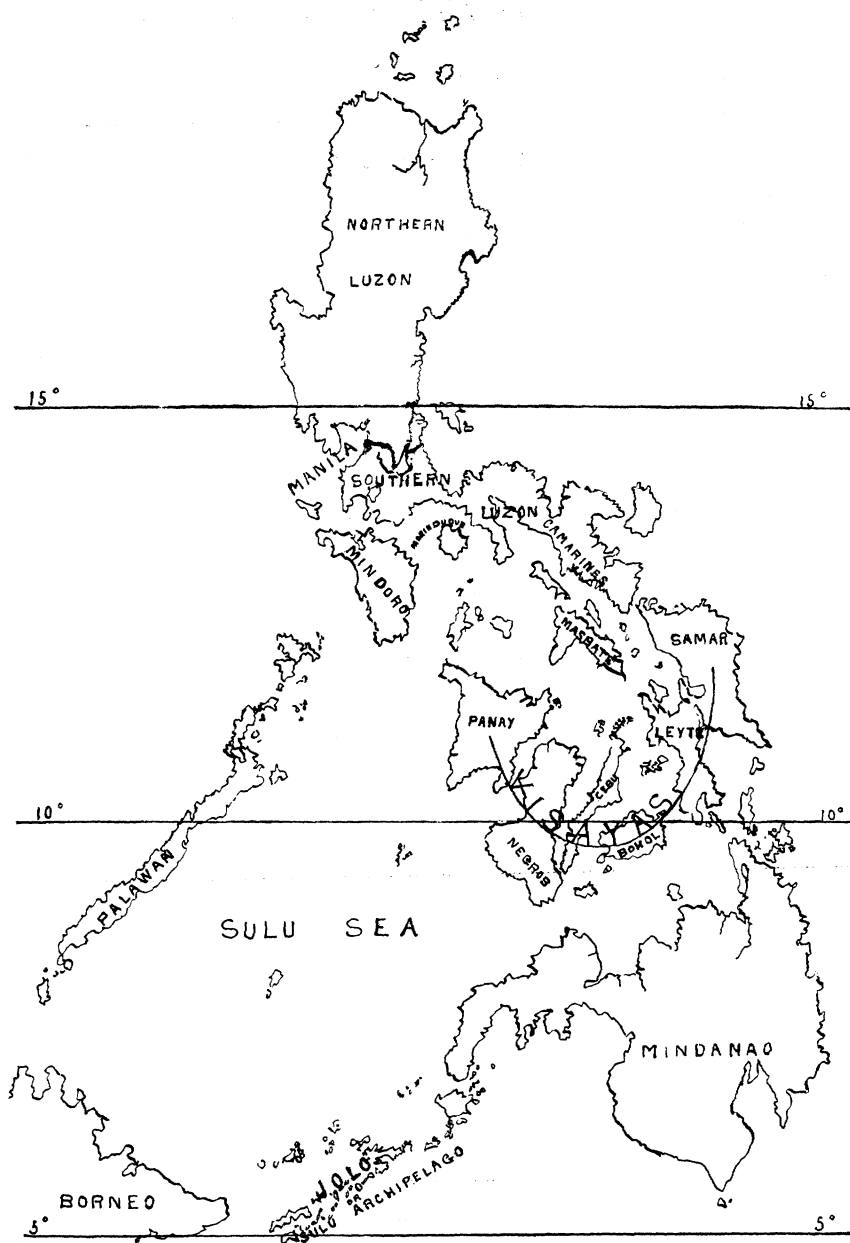
Enclosed please find \$5 for membership fee, or \$1 for subscription for  
**PHILIPPINE REVIEW** from.....190  
to.....190

Name,.....

Street or Box,.....

City or Town,.....

State,.....



# The Philippine Review

---

VOL. II.

NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1902.

NO. 3.

---

## EDITOR'S NOTE.

**First Phase of the Philippine Situation.** At the beginning of a new year it may not be out of place to recapitulate briefly and to suggest how the march of events has

changed the aspect of the Philippine problem. Nearly four years ago, when the Philippine question first came before the people of America with the victory in Manila Bay, arguments in and out of Congress centred about the general question of the desirability of retaining the Philippines. With the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, however, in the spring of 1899, the Philippines became a part of the United States and the Philippine problem had taken on a new aspect. . By that time, moreover, the situation had been further complicated by the outbreak of hostilities in February, 1899; and, it being generally admitted that the matter should not be debated while fighting continued, the question was transferred from Congress to the War Department, which was tasked to end the insurrection as speedily as possible. In the performance of this task the War Department has met great difficulties, chief among them being scarcity of troops, owing to a general disinclination to admit that more troops were needed; difficulty of transportation; the necessity of operating in a strange land where a strange tongue was spoken; and the sullen resistance of several millions of people.

**Quelling the Insurrection.** After eighteen months' warfare, armed resistance in the Philippines was still at its height when, on December 20, 1900, General MacArthur issued his well-known proclamation, providing for a more vigorous application of the laws of war, which proclamation, he considered, had much to do with bringing the insurgents to a realizing sense of the hopelessness of their position. Since that time armed resistance to the power of the United States has steadily waned until now no actual fighting is reported except in certain portions of Southern Luzon and the Islands of Samar, Cebu, Bohol, and Mindoro. The capture of Aguinaldo in April, 1901, was an important feature of the vigorous military campaign which General MacArthur prosecuted with such marked ability. Since that capture all the important insurgent officers have come in or been captured with the exception of General Malbar in Southern Luzon and General Lucban in Samar.

---

**The Taft Commission.** Obviously, however, the need of quelling the insurrection was not the only duty confronting our government. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris the Philippines became a part of the United States, and we became responsible for the welfare of the inhabitants. For the purpose of constructing a government for the archipelago, President McKinley appointed the Taft Commission, which began its work in the Philippines in September, 1900, and which, since the passage of the Spooner Amendment,\* has had great powers. But through all this period the real authority was still vested wholly in the military commander, and the next important step was to move administrative power to a civil head.

---

**Civil Governor Appointed.** It was generally assumed that the appointment of a civil governor in the person of Judge Taft on July 4, 1901, meant that the Administration considered that the pacification of the Islands was practically completed, and that an efficient civil

---

\* See page 82 below.



government could be established ; but, in view of the subsequent course of events, it is, perhaps, more likely that the Administration desired to give the Filipinos an object-lesson in the sort of civil government they could have if they showed themselves ready for it. In spite of the great difficulties which the commission has had to deal with, it has made what looks from here like a good exhibition. It has accomplished a great deal, and, but for the restrictions of the Hoar Amendment to the Spooner Amendment, would probably now be regulating a more rapidly increasing commercial activity.

**The Vital Question.** But this still leaves unanswered perhaps the most important question of all,—not the quality of the new government itself, but whence it is deriving its strength. The civil government established by the Taft Commission shows itself to be an excellent one on paper ; but is it more than a paper government, deriving its support wholly from our army, or is it also beginning to draw some vigor from the people of the Islands themselves? To what extent are the Filipinos showing sincere loyalty to the aims of our representatives? These are questions on which some light is undeniably thrown by official documents, such as those describing the only well-formulated expression of native will to co-operate—the Federal Party\*—and the correspondence between General Chaffee and Governor Taft (see page 110 below). On the whole, however, answers to questions of this kind are not to be sought in government reports, and the suggestions submitted to Congress, but rather the reports and suggestions are to be considered in the light of these questions.

---

\* See the *Philippine Review*, pages 39 to 47.

## SECRETARY ROOT'S REPORT FOR 1901.

[Secretary Root's summary of the last year's efforts to solve the difficulties attending the introduction of civil government in the Philippines under American supervision appeared on November 29 (concluding sheets of the Annual Report for 1901), and, as far as space will permit, is reprinted in the following pages. Certain passages dealing with matter which is not new to the public have been omitted and described by brief summaries, but otherwise no changes have been made in the report itself except by altering the order of its subjects.]

The report falls naturally into two divisions, one portion describing the policy on which the government is acting (see page 94 below), the organization of the work (page 95), the methods of appointment (page 97), accounting (page 98), etc; the other dealing with a number of difficulties with which the government in the Islands is trying to cope, and making certain recommendations in connection with them. Since this latter portion takes up subjects treated by other authorities on Philippine matters, parallel opinions on the questions considered are quoted in immediate connection with Secretary's Root's statements for convenience in comparison. The above-mentioned subjects are Tariff and the Revenue (page 78), difficulties which have arisen under the Hoar Amendment in developing the natural resources of the Islands (page 81), Lands of Religious Orders (page 88), and Slavery (page 91). This portion of the report is taken up first in the digest given below, because it is thought to be of greater importance at the present moment. It is believed that the brief editorial remarks inserted in the text will remove any ambiguity that might result from the rearrangement of Secretary Root's report or the introduction of additional material.]

## PART ONE.

### I. Tariff and the Revenue.

#### (a) Tariff.

With regard to the tariff for the Philippines which went into effect November 15, 1901, Secretary Root states as follows: \*—

“The tariff bill mentioned in my last report as having been prepared by the commission has been completed. The pub-

---

\* Report of Secretary of War for 1901, page 76.

lication of the bill in the trade and other newspapers of this country, accompanied by an invitation of criticism, resulted in a large volume of correspondence, all of which was carefully considered, and in some changes, which were made with the concurrence of the commission. The appraisers of the New York custom-house, and other tariff experts in this country, were consulted as to the descriptive language used, in order to avoid, as far as possible, ambiguities which might lead to litigation.

"After being first approved by the Secretary of War, the bill was enacted by the Philippine Commission on the 16th of September as Act No. 230, and went into effect on the 15th of November. It represents more than a year of painstaking consideration and discussion by competent men thoroughly familiar with the business conditions and government needs of the Philippines, with the benefit of three years' experience of the good and bad points of the former law, with the benefit of the best expert assistance and advice, and with full opportunity for public criticism and suggestion by the business men both of the Philippines and of the United States."

It would seem that the decisions of the Supreme Court in the case of *De Lima v. Bidwell*, 182 U. S. 1, and in the recent case of the diamond rings, make it doubtful whether duties under this tariff can be constitutionally collected. In order, apparently, to provide for this contingency, the following bills have been introduced:—

#### **Lodge Bill.**

Introduced December 4, 1901, provides

1. That the United States Philippine Commission tariff (which went into effect November 15, 1901) shall remain in effect.
2. That the Dingley tariff rates shall be collected on all goods coming into the United States from the Philippines.
3. That the statutory laws of the United States shall not be in force in the Philippines except as adopted by military order or by the Philippine Commission.
4. That all duties and taxes already collected in the Islands are appropriated for the expenses of the insular government, and all duties hereafter collected in the Islands shall be paid into the Philippine treasury.

**Payne Bill.**

Introduced December 10, 1901, provides

1. That the United States Philippine Commission tariff (which went into effect November 15, 1901) shall remain in effect.

2. That the Dingley tariff rates shall be collected on all goods coming into the United States from the Philippine Archipelago.

3. That the same tonnage taxes shall be collected on vessels coming into the United States from the Philippines as from foreign countries except that until January 1, 1905, the provisions regulating the United States coasting trade shall not apply to foreign vessels plying between the Islands and the United States.

4. That the duties collected under the act in the Islands and in the United States shall be paid into the Philippine treasury for the expenses of the Islands.

5. Relates to the method of ascertaining the amount of duty due.

6. That articles intended for export from the United States to the Philippine Islands, but subject under existing law to internal revenue taxes, shall be exempt from such taxes, and shall be charged the duties imposed by this act.

**(b) Revenue.**

With regard to commerce and the revenue, Secretary Root makes the following comment : \*—

“Notwithstanding the serious disadvantage under which it has labored, the business of the Islands has increased during the past year. The total value of merchandise (exclusive of army supplies) imported during the fiscal year 1901 was \$30,279,406 as against \$20,601,436 for the fiscal year 1900, and the total value of merchandise exported during the fiscal year 1901 was \$23,214,948 as against \$19,751,068 for the fiscal year 1900,—an increase of 47 per cent. in the value of imports, and an increase of 17½ per cent. in the value of exports.

“The imports came from the following countries :—

“United States . . . . .	\$2,855,685
“United Kingdom . . . . .	6,956,145
“Germany . . . . .	2,135,252
“France . . . . .	1,683,929
“Spain . . . . .	2,161,352
“China . . . . .	4,339,941
“Hongkong . . . . .	2,340,585
“British East Indies . . . . .	2,182,892
“All other countries . . . . .	5,623,625

\* Report of Secretary of War for 1901, page 76.

“The exports went to the following countries :—

“United States . . . . .	\$2,572,021
“United Kingdom . . . . .	10,704,741
“Germany . . . . .	81,526
“France . . . . .	1,934,256
“Spain . . . . .	1,655,255
“China . . . . .	73,701
“Hongkong . . . . .	2,697,276
“British East Indies . . . . .	759,286
“All other countries . . . . .	2,736,886

“The imports from the United States show an increase of 72.4 per cent. over the imports of 1900, and the exports to the United States show a decrease of 27 per cent. from the exports of 1900. The imports from the United Kingdom, from Germany, from France, and from the British East Indies, have increased in a greater proportion than the imports from the United States.

“The revenues of the Philippine government during the fiscal year 1901 amounted to \$10,817,662.31 as against \$6,723,852.18 during the fiscal year 1900. The total expenditures during the fiscal year 1901 amounted to \$6,763,821.68 as against \$5,218,381.12 in 1900, making an increase of revenues of over \$4,000,000 and an increase of expenditures of about \$1,500,000, and a surplus of revenues over expenditures of \$4,053,840.63 as against a surplus of \$1,505,471.06 for the preceding year. Of course, the great expenditures which have been undertaken for public works, education, insular constabulary, extension of the judicial system, etc., will rapidly dispose of this surplus.”

## **II. Difficulties under the Spooner Amendment.**

### **Provisions of the Bill.**

The portions of Secretary Root's report dealing with the effect of the Philippine legislation of Congress in March, 1901, are of especial significance. This legislation (the so-called Spooner Amendment to the act making appropriation for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June

30, 1902) is the only Philippine legislation of a civil nature so far enacted by Congress, and therefore its workings are the more interesting to follow. The chief provisions of the amendment are briefly as follows : \* —

All military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands are, until otherwise provided by Congress, vested in such person or persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct for the establishment of civil government and for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of the Philippines in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion ; provided that no franchise shall be granted which does not contain a reservation of the right to alter or repeal the same and which has not been approved by the President of the United States, and is in his judgment clearly necessary for the immediate government of the Islands and indispensable for the people thereof, and all franchises shall terminate one year after the establishment of a permanent government ; and provided that no sale, lease, or other disposition, be made of the public lands or the timber thereon or the mining rights therein ; and provided that full information regarding the temporary government be supplied to the President of the United States and Congress.

#### **Difficulties.**

These provisos have had their intended effect of discouraging the investment of American and European capital both in mining and forestry and in any improvement which would require the granting of franchises. Incidentally, the internal revenue of the Islands has failed to receive accessions from the sale or lease of public lands.

How serious this latter difficulty has been may be understood when one realizes that, out of the 73,345,415 acres which is the approximate estimate of the land in the Philippines, 68,405,415 acres are public lands.† The revenue

---

\* For Spooner Amendment in full see Report of Secretary of War for 1901, page 53.

† Report of Taft Commission for 1900, page 33.

raised from the insignificant portion of private land remaining has been utterly inadequate to meet the expenses of the insular government, and they have therefore been met by the tariff revenue.

If the tariff is cut off by the Supreme Court decisions on the Diamond Rings case just handed down, the question of revenue will become a critical one.\* The President's message, and the reports dealing with Philippine affairs, were all written before the decisions of the court were known; and no recommendation based upon the present revenue requirements have been made.

The President, Secretary Root, and Governor Taft have, however, recommended that the obstacles in the way of business enterprises created by the Spooner Amendment be removed; and this recommendation is supported by the reports of numerous subordinate officials in the Philippines.

#### **Mining.**

\* The Chief of the Mining Bureau, Lieutenant Charles H. Burritt, in his report of May 16, 1901, comments on the situation as follows:† —

“The passage of the amended Spooner Bill, published in Manila on the eighth day of March, 1901, and containing a clause of reservation ‘that no sale or lease or other disposition of the public lands, or the timber thereon, or the mining rights therein, shall be made,’ put an end to all hopes for the immediate passage of any laws by Congress or the adoption of any rules or regulations by the United States Philippine Commission, either for the instituting of new claims upon public lands or the proper regulation, administration, and control of such claims as have been instituted under the Spanish administration.

“The officer in charge has no desire to criticise the wisdom of such a restriction upon one of the most important indus-

\* This complication would of course be averted by the passage of either of the bills just introduced. See pages 79 and 80 above.

† General MacArthur's Report of July 4, 1901, page 397.

tries of this archipelago,—an industry that not only could, but would, exert a most powerful influence for good in these Islands, inasmuch as besides adding to their wealth it would furnish employment to many thousands of the native population who find themselves impoverished by insurrection and its attendant losses and misfortunes. This department has to deal with facts, not criticisms; and I deem it proper to state that an examination of the arguments advanced in the public records, the statements of alleged facts relating to the Spanish mining laws and the mineral resources of this archipelago, when compared with the information and knowledge had within the mining bureau, clearly indicates that an exaggerated idea and a surprising lack of knowledge prevail in the United States and elsewhere in reference to the law of Spain regulating mining in the archipelago, the history of mining here in the past, and, still more, to the extent, nature, value, and conditions of the mineral deposits."

#### **In Forestry.**

Secretary Root's report takes up at some length the forestry difficulties which have arisen under the Spooner Amendment. He says that, approximately, 50,000,000 acres of the public lands are forest lands. "From time immemorial the inhabitants of the Islands have been accustomed to resort to these public forests for their firewood and lumber in the exercise of rights under licenses regulated by law."\* The Spooner Amendment, however, specifically forbade any disposition of the timber on public lands. Accordingly, the Philippine Commission on March 7, 1901, cabled for instructions, stating that great hardship would attend the strict enforcement of the Spooner Amendment in this particular. After much consultation and consideration it was concluded that the intent of the Spooner Amendment "was to prevent undue American exploitation,"† and not to cut off the people of the Philippines from the privileges which they had long enjoyed. Accordingly, the established system of forestry regu-

---

\* Secretary Root's Report for 1901, page 69.

† *Ibid.*, page 70.



lations provided for by the Spanish law were allowed to continue. Secretary Root states : \* —

“The total number of timber licenses issued from the organization of the forestry bureau on the 1st of July, 1900, to the 22d of October, 1901, has been :—

“ Licenses issued prior to March 2, 1901 . . . . .	296
“ Licenses issued since March 2, 1901 . . . . .	181
“ Total, . . . . .	477

“All of these licenses are limited to one year; and 196 expire by limitation on the 1st of December, 1901. They were distributed among 41 different provinces and small islands. Under them there was cut between July 1, 1900, and June 30, 1901, 2,439,431 cubic feet of timber, and 2,000,000 cubic feet of firewood, yielding a revenue to the insular government of \$199,373.11 (Mexican). The aggregate of these cuttings, amounting to 4,439,431 cubic feet, is less than one-third of 1 per cent. of the estimated annual growth of the forests, so that, if a perfect forestry system were applied, three hundred times as much could be cut each year without decreasing the supply.”

#### Recommendations.

In concluding his remarks upon the utilization of forest products, Secretary Root says, “I earnestly recommend as a matter of material importance to the people of the Philippine Islands such legislation as shall permit the building of railroads from the towns to the forests and the employment of capital under proper limitations and supervision in the cutting of lumber, which shall supply the wants of the people and utilize the now wasting growth of the forest.”†

In a section entitled “Legislative Relief,” Secretary Root refers to his report of November 30, 1900, which recommended legislation which should promote the industrial development

\* Secretary Root's Report for 1901, page 71.

† *Ibid.*, page 72.

of the Philippines, saying: \* “The statements then made are true, not only as to the limitations of usefulness of any military government, but as to any civil government which can be organized under the Spooner Amendment, so long as the limitations imposed by that amendment continue. It is of the highest importance that the law, instead of prohibiting, should facilitate in the Philippines, under proper safeguards against undue exploitation and imposition, the same kind of healthful enterprise and industry which have made this country great and prosperous. Nothing will tend to do away with conspiracies, uprisings, and guerilla warfare so powerfully as the attractions of profitable employment for the people.

“The present limitations which prevent new enterprise practically give a monopoly of business in many directions as against Americans to the foreign houses who occupied the field under Spanish rule, and at the same time prevent the government of the Islands from according to the people of the Philippines the material privileges and rights which were denied to them by Spain and to which they are entitled. It is much to be desired that the next session of Congress shall not pass without adequate relief in this respect by appropriate legislation along lines above indicated.”

Governor Taft, in a public address made August 11, 1901, said that, in order properly to develop the Philippines, satisfactory legislation dealing with tariff reform must be passed at the next session of Congress. He also asserted that laws prohibiting the sale of public lands and timber, laws providing for the incorporation of American banks, and laws granting franchises and mining rights were imperatively demanded.†

#### **The President's Recommendation.**

President Roosevelt, in his message of December 3, 1901, makes the following recommendation:—

---

\* Secretary Root's Report for 1901, page 78.

† Governor Taft's Report for 1901 contains further recommendations on this point, which will be considered in the next number of the *Review*.

"The time has come when there should be additional legislation for the Philippines. Nothing better can be done for the Islands than to introduce industrial enterprises. Nothing would benefit them so much as throwing them open to industrial development. The connection between idleness and mischief is proverbial, and the opportunity to do remunerative work is one of the surest preventives of war. Of course, no business man will go into the Philippines unless it is to his interest to do so; and it is immensely to the interest of the Islands that he should go in. It is therefore necessary that the Congress should pass laws by which the resources of the Islands can be developed, so that franchises (for limited terms of years) can be granted to companies doing business in them, and every encouragement be given to the incoming of business men of every kind.

"Not to permit this is to do a wrong to the Philippines. The franchises must be granted, and the business permitted only under regulations which will guarantee the Islands against any kind of improper exploitation. But the vast natural wealth of the Islands must be developed, and the capital willing to develop it must be given the opportunity. The field must be thrown open to individual enterprise, which has been the real factor in the development of every region over which our flag has flown. It is urgently necessary to enact suitable laws dealing with general transportation, mining, banking, currency, homesteads, and the use and ownership of the lands and timber. These laws will give free play to industrial enterprise; and the commercial development which will surely follow will afford to the people of the Islands the best proofs of the sincerity of our desire to aid them."

That further legislation is needed, if the industrial development of the Islands is to progress in any degree, cannot be questioned. No contrary opinion has been expressed. With regard to the desirability of immediate industrial development, however, and the effect of the business enterprises which would spring up under more favorable legislation, there is not complete unanimity among the men best qualified to

judge of the Philippine situation. Governor Taft, in his cable in the spring of 1900, recommended legislation, expressing the opinion that industrial development would greatly accelerate the pacification of the Islands; and with this opinion President Roosevelt and Secretary Root appear to concur. General MacArthur, however, in his report of July 4, 1901, says:—

“If a spirit of Philippine speculation should seize the public mind in the United States, and be emphasized by means of grants, concessions, and special franchises, for the purpose of quick exploitation, the political situation and the permanent interests of all concerned might be seriously jeopardized. Accordingly, what is most needed at present, in order to facilitate the organization of society on a new basis, the establishment of stable civil government, the creation of a sound money medium, and the inculcation of wholesome methods of the American thought, is a period of comparative tranquillity.”

### **III. Lands of Religious Orders.**

#### **(a) Secretary Root's Recommendation.**

After stating \* that “authority ought to be given, under proper restrictions, to the insular government and to the cities of the archipelago to raise money by the issue of bonds in pursuance of the same policy which has been followed by our American States and cities,” Secretary Root says:† —

“One of the purposes for which the borrowing of money should be authorized is the acquisition of the tracts of land held by religious orders in the Islands.”

[*Summary of omitted portion:* Quotations from Mr. McKinley's instructions to the commission regarding the lands claimed by the friars.]

“Three religious orders, the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Recolletos, who were established under Spanish rule, had

---

\* Secretary Root's Report for 1901, page 79.

† *Ibid.*

at the time of American occupation a holding of about 403,000 acres of agricultural lands. These lands are occupied by a native tenantry intensely hostile to the friars, and that hostility is unquestionably shared by the vast majority of the people of the Islands. The relation of these landlords to their tenants and to the entire people was one of the chief causes of irritation and rebellion under the Spanish government.

"The new conditions make it manifestly for the interest of the religious orders that they should convert into money this property, which they can manifestly no longer peacefully enjoy or practically make useful. At the same time the peace and order of the community, the good will of the people toward the government of the United States, and the interest of an effective settlement and disposition of all questions arising between the Church and State in the Islands make it equally desirable that these lands should be purchased by the State, and that title upon proper and reasonable terms should be offered to the tenants or to the other people of the Islands. For this purpose it will be necessary that money should be obtained from other sources than the ordinary revenues of the Philippine government. The receipts from sales of the land to natives can be devoted to the payment of any bonds issued to raise money for the purchase."

This recommendation is practically identical with that made by Governor Taft in his report for 1900.\* The Schurman Commission, it will be remembered, also recommended that the lands of the friars be purchased by the insular government, although it did not specifically recommend a loan from the United States to effect that end.

#### **(b) Other Opinions regarding Church Questions.**

General MacArthur, on the other hand, does not seem to think special legislation on the church question necessary. After saying † that "practical administrative questions, touch-

\* This recommendation is restated in his report for 1901, which will be considered in the next number of the *Review*.

† Report of July 4, 1901, page 109.

ing the Church and the monastical orders," had not been numerous, but that there had been much heated debate about the relations existing between the people and the monasteries, he adds: \* "As an easy and practical remedy in all the foregoing premises, many leading Filipinos demand the expulsion of the religious communities from the archipelago, together with some form of condemnation of their estates: which action, of course, is not possible under any conceivable construction of American constitutional laws, and which, if entirely legal, would be exceedingly inexpedient, as it is now almost certain that, under the orderly precedent prescribed by American methods, all complications can be readily adjusted without any violence whatever."

The solution to General MacArthur's mind apparently lies in the fact that the titles to the lands held by the friars are not clear. Governor Taft in his report for November 30, 1900, says that these titles can in few instances be attacked in law, since prescription has supplied any defect which might have been in the original titles. Don Felipe Calderon, however, described by Governor Taft as "one of the brightest of the Filipino lawyers and most prominent in his opposition to the friars," suggests "that the friars had such powers to defeat claims against them under the Spanish régime as to furnish a just reason for suspending the operation of prescription." † Substantially this same opinion is stated by General MacArthur in his report of July 4, 1901. ‡ Judge Taft, however, does not consider it tenable. §

A further complication with regard to the lands held by the friars has grown out of the attempts made by the religious orders in 1898 to transfer vast sections of their property to foreign corporations. Certain of the deeds of transfers were submitted by the grantees to the United States authorities for acknowledgment of their validity, but were returned by the Washington authorities to the military government

\* Report of July 4, 1901, page 109.

† Taft Report for 1900, page 28.

‡ Page 110.

§ Taft Report for 1900, page 28.

in Manila, and there submitted to eminent Filipino counsel, who held that the deeds of transfer were not legal, since under the Maura law (a Spanish law in force at the time the United States took control of the Philippines) no foreign corporation or association could hold land in the Philippines.

Colonel Crowder (military secretary of the Islands under General Otis and General MacArthur) states \* in his report of July 4, 1901, that, when these deeds were submitted through him to the military governor for confirmation of title, the grantees were informed that questions of titles were not appropriate for administrative settlement, but pertained to civil courts, and must await the re-establishment of the same. Governor Taft suggests † that these attempted conveyances were not sales at all, but were conveyances in trust intended as "a means for managing the estates without direct intervention of the friars, or for selling the same when a proper price" could be secured.

He states, ‡ however, that during the last two and a half years the friars have not attempted to collect rents from persons occupying the lands claimed by them. Agents of the insurgents, however, claiming title to the lands by virtue of confiscation acts of the so-called Malolos government, have from time to time made collections from the tenants.

#### IV. Slavery among the Moros.

##### Secretary Root's Comment.

With regard to the slavery existing among the Moros, Secretary Root says: § —

"It is gratifying to report that the efforts of the American officers to bring about a cessation of the practice of slavery among the Moros are not fruitless. The character of the slavery practised is quite unlike that formerly practised in

\* General MacArthur's Report of July 4, 1900, page 237.

† Taft Report for 1900, page 32.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 28.

§ Secretary Root's Report for 1901, page 80.

the United States in this, that the Moro slave, so called, becomes a member of the owner's family, enjoying many privileges, often having voluntarily sold himself into slavery to better his condition. The so-called slaves themselves exhibit no special anxiety to change their condition. All who seek freedom receive it upon coming into the American lines.

"The following proclamation has been issued by the Datto Mandi, one of the most powerful of the Moro rulers :—

"(CIRCULAR.)

*"To the datos, principals, and old men of the Moro rancherias of this district :—*

"Being aware that some Moros in villages within my jurisdiction continue to engage in slavery, some by loan made to poor families, some buying them for trading, all doubtless forgetful of the orders issued by the old government of Spain, which strictly prohibited slavery, and in order not to wait to be again instructed by the civil government of the United States, I direct all my subjects, especially the datos, principals, and old men of all villages in my jurisdiction, beginning with this date, to comply and enforce the rules provided in the following sections, namely :—

"*First.* In view of the fact that slavery has not and never will bring any progress with it, you shall prevent Moros to have slaves of their own or other race.

"*Second.* If actually some are in such condition because of debt contracted for his immediate needs, he will not be considered as such slave, but as a hired man who receives a salary for his services, and with the view of extinguishing the debt in from eight to ten months.

"*Third.* It is strictly prohibited from this date, illegal trading of Moro slaves and also slavery among themselves. Offenders of these rules will be liable to a penalty or a fine.

"ZAMBOANGA, April 19, 1901.

"(This is a literal copy of the original, which was written in Arabian characters.)

"THE DATTO RAJAHMUDA.

"MANDI.

"It is believed that the peaceful process, the rapid advance of which is indicated by this proclamation, will accomplish the desired result much more readily than it could be accomplished in any other way."

#### **Other Reports concerning Slavery.**

This circular, be it noted, was issued last spring in Zamboanga, which is the most Americanized city of the Island of Mindanao. On the other hand, Major Sweet, in command of



the Jolo Archipelago, states in his report, May 1, 1901,\* that "the question of slavery, although not recognized by the United States, is still a fact, and is a constant source of trouble on account of slaves escaping from one master to another, or their being stolen. Whenever a question concerning slavery comes before me, I simply make the owners prove they are slaves beyond doubt, in which case I have nothing to do with them; but, in case I can pick a flaw in their title, I give the alleged slaves freedom papers. Thousands of Moros are held as slaves who are by right free people."

Colonel Pettit, in command of the southern portion of Mindanao, stated on May 8, 1901,† that "under our orders I believe all Filipino slaves and captives have been turned over to us; and further slavery either by conquest or traffic between islands has been prohibited. The abolishment of slavery can be attempted in one of two ways,—by war or by purchase. The latter would be futile. I cannot imagine a more desolate people than the Moro slaves would be if set free. Their freedom would be of short duration. War could be had for the asking. It is for the United States government to decide if they want it. The Moros have plenty of arms and ammunition and a country passable only by its water ways."

General Kobbe, in command of the Department of Mindanao and Jolo, makes no reference, in the sections of his reports dealing with the Jolo Archipelago and Northern Mindanao, to the subject of slavery; but, in speaking of Southern Mindanao, he makes the following comment,‡ which may be intended to apply to the whole department: "It seems advisable to repeat in this report that slavery, as the term is usually understood, does not exist among the Moros, and to add that radical and comprehensive measures to abolish it would at this time be premature, and not effective. The slaves belong to the same race as the masters, appear to live

---

\* General MacArthur's Report for 1901, Appendix P, Exhibit C, page 29.

† *Ibid.*, Exhibit B, page 23.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 5.

with them on equal social terms, and, as far as known, have no hard labor to perform. The people are improvident, and, when in one section or another there is a famine, may sell their children for food. It has heretofore been impossible to obtain an estimate of the number of slaves held anywhere or to get any other information regarding them, not because of unwillingness to furnish it, but because, apparently, of ignorance or an indifference to an institution that is without well-defined regulations and that has taken no very deep roots among them.

"The few slaves who seek the protection of our troops invariably receive it; and all Filipinos, men and women, who were captured during the period between the departure of the Spaniards and the advent of the Americans have been ordered returned, and are now with their people."

## **PART TWO.**

[The following pages dealing with the general policy and methods of the government in the Philippines are taken verbatim from Secretary Root's report, and are not supplemented from any other source.]

### **I. General Policy of the Government.\***

"The policy followed by the American Executive in dealing with the government of the Philippines (and also in dealing with the government of the other islands ceded or yielded by Spain which have been under the control of the War Department), has been to determine and prescribe the framework of insular government, to lay down the rules of policy to be followed upon the great questions of government as they are foreseen or arise, to obtain the best and ablest men possible for insular officers, to distribute and define their powers, and then to hold them responsible for the conduct of

---

\* Secretary Root's Report for 1901, page 82.

government in the Islands with the least possible interference from Washington.

"Notwithstanding a rigid adherence to this policy, and consistently with it, the demands upon the department for action in the vast and complicated business of the island governments have been constant and imperative. Different civilizations, different systems of law and procedure, and different modes of thought brought into contact have evolved a great crowd of difficult questions for determination. New facts ascertained and changed conditions have called for the interpretation and application of our own rules of policy and the establishment of further rules. Different views as to the scope of authority under the distribution of powers have required reconciliation. The application of the law of military occupation to rights and practices existing under the laws of Spain and the process of overturning inveterate wrongs have brought about frequent appeals to the highest authority, which, being made in the name of justice, have required consideration. The work undertaken has been the building up of a government from the foundation upon unfamiliar ground. We have had no precedents, save the simple and meagre proceedings under the occupation of California and New Mexico, more than half a century ago; and it has been necessary to decide every question upon its own merits, and to make our own precedents for the future."

## **II. Four Executive Departments Organized.\***

"On the 1st of September a further step [*i.e.*, after inauguration of civil government July 4, 1901] toward civil executive organization was made by the establishment of separate executive departments, to which members of the commission were assigned as follows: department of the interior, Dean C. Worcester; department of commerce and police, Luke E. Wright; department of finance and justice, Henry C. Ide; department of public instruction, Bernard Moses.

---

\* Secretary Root's Report for 1901, page 59.

"The administrative affairs of the government are apportioned among these several departments as follows:—

"The department of the interior has under its executive control a bureau of health, the quarantine service of the marine hospital corps, a bureau of forestry, a bureau of mining, a bureau of agriculture, a bureau of fisheries, a weather bureau, a bureau of Pagan and Mohammedan tribes, a bureau of public lands, a bureau of government laboratories, and a bureau of patents and copyrights.

"The department of commerce and police has under its executive control a bureau of island and inter-island transportation, a bureau of post-offices, a bureau of telegraphs, a bureau of coast and geodetic survey, a bureau of engineering and construction of public works other than public buildings, a bureau of insular constabulary, a bureau of prisons, a bureau of light-houses, a bureau of commercial and street railroad corporations, and all corporations except banking.

"The department of finance and justice embraces the bureau of the insular treasury, the bureau of the insular auditor, a bureau of customs and immigration, a bureau of internal revenue, the insular cold storage and ice plant, a bureau of banks, banking, coinage, and currency, and the bureau of justice.

"The department of public instruction embraces a bureau of public instruction, a bureau of public charities, public libraries, and museums, a bureau of statistics, a bureau of public records, a bureau of public printing, and a bureau of architecture and construction of public buildings.

"At the same time, by appointment of the President, three distinguished Filipinos, Señor Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, of Manila, Señor Benito Legarda, of Manila, and Señor Jose Luzuriaga, of Negros, were added to the commission."

[*Summary of omitted portion:* On the 29th of October, in order to relieve somewhat the very great pressure under which Governor Taft was laboring, an order was made creating the office of vice-governor, and appointing Commissioner Wright to that position.]

"Division of jurisdiction. Since the 4th of July the

civil and military agents of the government of the Islands have been conducting administration within their respective jurisdictions in substantial harmony.

[*Summary of omitted portions*: Seven provinces organized under provincial governments, three provinces restored to military rule.]

"A schedule is annexed hereto, marked 'Appendix D' [omitted in this digest], showing in detail the territorial subdivisions of the Philippines, with their areas and population, in which the affairs of civil government are now administered by civilians and those in which the affairs of civil government are administered by the military authorities, by which it appears that approximately 74,152 square miles, or 58 per cent. of the estimated area of the Islands, and 4,902,837 people, or 70 per cent. of the estimated population of the Islands, are under the civil administration; and, approximately, 53,701 square miles, or 42 per cent. of the total area, and 2,072,236 people, or 30 per cent. of the total estimated population, are under military administration."

#### **Making Civil Appointments.\***

"In providing the *personnel* of the government which is thus gradually superseding military administration, the department has proceeded upon the assumption that the honor and credit of the United States is so critically involved in creating a good government that the importance of securing the best men available should outweigh and practically exclude all other considerations. This principle of selection has been followed without deviation. No officer, high or low, has been appointed upon any one's request, or upon any personal, social, or political consideration. The general power of appointment was vested by the instructions of April 7 in the commission, which is eight thousand miles removed from all American pressure for office, and which will stand or fall upon its success or failure in getting competent men. The order of June 21 appointing the civil governor transferred the power to the civil governor with the consent of

---

\* Secretary Root's Report for 1901, page 62.

the commission. The exercise of this power by the commission and by the civil governor has not been interfered with or overruled in any case. The only appointments of a civil character made by the administration in the United States since the commission entered upon its duties have been the governor, vice-governor, and members of the commission, appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Secretary of War; the auditor, deputy auditor, and treasurer, who are officers of an independent accounting system, appointed by the Secretary of War; the director-general of posts, appointed by the Postmaster-General.

"The practice regarding all appointments to offices not covered by the very comprehensive civil service law has been to refer all applications for appointment received at the White House or the War Department, with the accompanying testimonials, immediately to the commission or the civil service governor, with instructions to report when the service of the applicant was desired. In numerous cases the commission has cabled for further information, which has been sought and furnished as promptly as possible. Such inquiries regarding candidates for judicial appointments have been made by the Department of Justice through the judges and district attorneys in the judicial districts in which the candidates formerly resided."

[*Summary of omitted portion:* Acknowledgments to officers of department. Civil service law enacted by the Philippine Commission, September 19, 1900, has been put into successful and satisfactory operation. Its rules provide for practical and impartial examinations. A manual of information on the subject can be obtained upon application to the civil service board at Manila or to the War Department. President directed that United States Civil Service Commission should render such assistance as might be practicable to the civil service board of the Philippines. In accordance with this order, opportunities for examinations are afforded at all points in the United States where the civil service commission has a board of examiners. Members of both houses of Congress have acquiesced in the above principles and methods.]

#### **System of Account and Audit.**

Secretary Root states that at the time of his last annual report the conditions of very active warfare and other com-

plications made it impossible to apply United States methods for securing official accountability. He continues : \* —

“At the beginning of the present year, however, a point had been reached in the development of government, which made an important advance in the accounting system possible, and a complete revision of that system was undertaken. For this purpose the experience acquired in dealing with the accounts of Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines was utilized, and the accounting officers of the United States Treasury, Post-office, and War Department were brought into conference. Upon their joint recommendations a new system of accounting and audit was embodied in an executive order signed by the President on February 23, 1901, and in a series of rules and regulations, approved by the Secretary of War, at the same time, and promulgated by an act of commission (No. 90) of February 28, 1901. The new regulations went into effect on the 1st of April, 1901. They practically put into force in the Philippine Islands the accounting and auditing system of the United States, and furnish all the checks and safeguards which Congress has thrown about the moneys of the United States. Since April 1 they have been in force in the Philippines, and also in Cuba, with comprehensive and satisfactory results.”

[*Summary of omitted portions* : Complete reports of fiscal affairs in the Philippines now on file in Washington. Mr. A. I. Lawshe has been appointed auditor of the Philippines. The principle that the officer having direction of the spending of money shall have no authority over the system of accounts has been engrafted into the Philippine system.]

#### **Work of Department of Education.**

In the section devoted to the subject of Education, Secretary Root quotes President McKinley's instructions of April 7, 1900, to the second Philippine Commission, directing the promotion, expansion, and improvement of the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities, especial attention being given “to affording full opportunity

---

\* Report for 1901, page 64.

to all the people of the Islands to acquire the use of the English language." In pursuance of these instructions the commission passed an act establishing the department of public instruction under the direction of a general superintendent who should have authority to obtain from the United States one thousand trained teachers, with monthly salaries of not less than \$75 or not more than \$125. All efforts which have been made by the United States government toward establishing a Department of Public Instruction in the Philippines have been hampered by the close relations which existed between Church and State under Spanish rule in the Philippines.

Indeed, in such public schools as existed under Spain, religious education predominated over the secular. The act of the commission establishing a Department of Public Instruction provides that "no teacher or other person shall teach or criticise the doctrines of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or shall attempt to influence the pupils for or against any church or religious sect in any public school, established under this act." No public school teacher shall conduct religious exercises or teach religion, and no pupil shall be required by any public school teacher to attend and receive religious instruction. However, the priest or minister of any church established in the pueblo where a public school is situated is allowed to teach religion for half an hour three times a week, in the school building, to those public school pupils whose parents or guardians express in writing their desire for such instruction.

Secretary Root states that, under the provisions of the act of the Philippine Commission, \$162,000 was immediately appropriated for the purchase of text-books and other supplies, "and the very difficult task of securing suitable school accommodations and competent teachers was vigorously begun."

In speaking of the present situation, Secretary Root says: \*

"Many more teachers must be obtained; many buildings must be constructed. Time and persistent energy and very

---

\* Report for 1901, page 68.



large amounts of money will be necessary to put the system into working order. No regular system of reports has yet been possible; but, from the reports received, it is estimated that not less than 150,000 children are actually enrolled in the free primary schools; that one-half of these are being compelled to wait because there are not adequate school-rooms, and that there are 75,000 children in actual daily attendance upon the schools already established. There are between 3,000 and 4,000 native elementary teachers employed. About 2,000 of these are receiving daily instruction in English.

"Over 10,000 adult natives are studying English in evening schools under American teachers, and many more are applying than can be cared for as yet. The greatest eagerness is manifested to learn English. There is a wide-spread desire to send boys to the United States for education. Many of the towns are arranging to send and support boys here for that purpose. The educational situation is, briefly, as follows: There is a wide-spread and earnest desire for education among the people of the islands. There are more people anxious for education than there are teachers to furnish it. There are more teachers than there are school buildings or rooms for them to teach in. I think no one can become familiar with the facts without deep interest and a strong desire to press forward provision for education. All the good influences of American civilization may enter through this open door."\*

#### **Reduction in the Army.**

Secretary Root states † that since his report of November 30, 1900, the army in the Philippines has been reduced

---

\* The present methods of agriculture in the Philippines are very primitive, Secretary Root says. A Bureau of Agriculture has been organized similar to the one in the Interior Department of the United States, and it should prove very valuable.

The improvements in the harbor of Manila, including the completion of the breakwater and extensive work on public roads, are imperatively demanded, and large sums have been appropriated by the commission for this purpose.

† Report for 1901, page 27.

"from 2,367 officers and 71,727 enlisted men to 1,111 officers and 42,128 enlisted men. When the organizations now remaining in the Philippines shall, by the force of ordinary casualties and expiration of enlistments, be reduced to the numbers established by the order of May 8, 1901, mentioned on page 4 of this report, the total enlisted strength of those organizations, exclusive of hospital corps, will be 32,079 men."

From May, 1900, to June 20, 1901, Secretary Root states that "the operations of the field forces were so vigorous and unrelenting that more than 1,000 contacts occurred between our troops and the insurgents," in which the insurgent casualties were: "killed, 3,854; wounded, 1,193; captured, 6,572; surrendered, 23,095; with a total of 15,693 rifles and nearly 300,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition captured and surrendered. Our casualties during the same period were: killed, 245; wounded, 490; captured, 118; missing, 20."

"The recent disturbances in Samar and Southern Luzon," says Secretary Root, "are of minor consequence, and are being stamped out by the vigorous operation of the troops. Small disturbances of this character are, unfortunately, to be expected, but will be controlled and guarded against by every means possible." The difficulties confronting us in the Philippines are not more, but less, in Secretary Root's opinion, than were anticipated at this time last year.

Strenuous efforts are being made to reduce expenses in the Philippines. Secretary Root states that the visits of the Adjutant-general, the Inspector-general, the Quartermaster-general, the Commissary-general, and the Surgeon-general of the army in the Philippines have had good results. Their recommendations for measures of retrenchment which can be taken without impairing efficiency have been in many cases followed with good results. With regard to the peculations in the commissary department in Manila, which received great prominence in the press during the past summer, Secretary Root states: "Thorough investigation proves that the demoralization which they indicated was confined to a few

---

individuals, who were promptly tried, convicted, and sentenced, and are now undergoing punishment. The whole amount of loss to the government proved to be less than \$1,000."

## CURRENCY AND BANKING.

*By Charles A. Conant.*

[So urgent is the importance of action on the question of currency and banking in the Philippines that Mr. Charles A. Conant, of the Indianapolis Monetary Convention, was sent to the Islands as a special commissioner to investigate the subject upon the ground. Mr. Conant's report is appended to the report of the Secretary of War for 1901, and is briefly summarized below :—]

### Currency.

The chief medium of exchange in the Philippine Islands is now the Mexican dollar, and it is recommended that the following new system be adopted to take the place of it :—

That a new Philippine token silver coin of the legal tender value of fifty cents in gold be issued by the insular government, in such quantities as required by the needs of trade ;

That this coin be maintained at par by the limitation of the amount coined, and by a gold reserve ;

That the Mexican dollars and other coins now in use cease to be legal tender.

This plan has the merit of establishing the Islands at once on a gold basis, and is superior to the other plans proposed, which are :—

*First.* The introduction of the United States currency.

*Second.* The continuance of the present system.

*Third.* The introduction of a distinct Philippine coin similar to the Mexican dollar, but without fixed relation to gold.

The objections to the first plan are that it would create great confusion in retail trade and prices, and that there would be great danger of the counterfeiting of American silver on account of its low bullion value.

The second plan is inexpedient, because a foreign standard, like the Mexican dollar, is subject to more violent fluctuations even than the price of silver, owing to the sudden increase of

currency demands at other commercial centres, which can be but slowly met because of the distant source of supply.\*

The fundamental objection to the third plan proposed is that it means placing the Islands on a silver basis. In the long run the gold standard will better promote the interests of trade and prove more attractive to foreign capital.

The new silver coin proposed is to be redeemable at fifty cents in gold, and is to be similar in size to the Mexican dollar, but of slightly less bullion value, so that the fluctuations in the price of silver will not at any time make its bullion value greater than its face value. This coin will be kept at par by limiting the amount coined and by a gold reserve fund, to be constituted from the amount of the seigniorage, and which will amount to from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. of the amount of silver outstanding. In case the gold reserve created in this way should prove insufficient, it is recommended that the government of the Islands be given power to sell gold drafts to replenish it. It is believed that a fund of this size will be sufficient; but, if it does not prove so, a definite sum for the purpose could be transferred from current funds in the insular treasury.

There is some danger that gold would be withdrawn by the Chinese for hoarding, and for this reason the exchange of silver for gold should be made discretionary with the Minister of Finance in the Islands; but it is not believed that serious trouble will result from this source.

The displacing of the Mexican dollar by the new coins will not cause serious embarrassment if a sufficient number of the new coins are on hand before they are made a legal tender, and if the date at which the Mexican dollars cease to be a legal tender is fixed a reasonable time in advance.

For striking off the new coins a mint should be established in Manila, and the government should be protected by appropriate legislation in its purchases of silver bullion.

It is further recommended that the subsidiary coinage of Spain, consisting of pieces of 50, 20, and 10 centavos, be

---

\* See in this connection the article by H. W. Peabody in the November number of the *Expansionist*.

continued by the coinage of pieces of corresponding denominations.

### **Banking.**

The following plan for the regulation of banking in the Philippine Islands is recommended :—

1. That all banking in the Islands be placed under government control.

2. That the national banking system of the United States be extended to the Islands, with the modifications that "branch banks" be allowed, and that the restrictions on note issues be materially reduced.

3. That a system of mortgage banks be established under proper restrictions.

4. That legal depositories for public money be established at convenient points.

It is important that the government of the Islands should have power to maintain the same supervision over banking that our States have here; and, though the proposed extension of the national banking system would involve the presence of federal officials, this would not entail any difficulties.

The competition of the great foreign banks doing business in the Orient would be disastrous, unless national banks in the Philippines were enabled to arm themselves with a similar system of branches. This is a system which has been fully tried and found to be safe, and in the Philippines it is not open to the objections urged against it in the United States.

It is also important that an ample supply of sound paper currency be provided, as the Spanish-Filipino Bank now issues all the circulating notes in use in the Islands and the supply is wholly inadequate. In order to enable American banks to compete with the foreign ones in the issue of notes a provision more liberal than that contained in national banking systems should be made, and a method is suggested by which this can be safely done.

The Spanish-Filipino Bank and other foreign banks doing business in the Islands could hardly be required to conform

to the national banking law, but they would probably be willing to submit to such regulations as would make their operations safe and proper.

There is great need of a system of mortgage banks for the relief of agricultural communities which are now suffering from lack of capital and from excessive rates of interest. A plan is outlined under which such banks should be organized, and it is also suggested that commercial banks having a large Capital be authorized to enter this field to a limited extent.

There is urgent need for legislation creating legal depositories for public funds in the Islands; for under existing statutes none such are provided, and this has proved a source of considerable annoyance and hardship to public officials.

---

[The portion of Secretary Root's report devoted to Currency and Banking embodies the same views here expressed by Mr. Conant, and adds that bills designed to give effect to them will be submitted to Congress.]

## GENERAL CHAFFEE'S REPORT ON PRESENT CONDITIONS.

General Chaffee's report for 1901 merely covers the period from July 4, 1901 (the date of General MacArthur's departure from the Philippines and General Chaffee's installation as commanding officer) to October 1, 1901, and is, therefore, brief, his own personal report covering little more than nine pages. His summary of present conditions is important and interesting, and is, therefore, reprinted below :

[*Summary of omitted portion* : Description of the government in the city of Manila, which has been under military rule for three years, during which time, General Chaffee says, "an excellent foundation has been laid and a turbulent and hostile community brought to observe the laws and individually be orderly : this has been done without undue harshness or severity of treatment of the inhabitants."]

"In General MacArthur's report [for July 4, 1901] (page 19) he states :—

"‘At the present writing there is no embodied rebel force in all Luzon above the Pasig.’

"The quotation just made is true now. But efforts, whatever they were, to induce a general surrender of insurgents in the Department of Southern Luzon failed to accomplish that result, so that a force of some hundreds of rebels are yet dispersed throughout the provinces of Batangas, Laguna, and Tayabas in the midst of a terrorized if not hostile population. Operations were resumed in July in all the provinces of the Department of Southern Luzon south of Cavite, and the troops have been actively at work since, meeting with complete success in the Camarines and Albay, where at this time no body of rebels is in armed opposition, but only partly succeeding in Batangas and Laguna. In these provinces contact and conflict have been frequent, with results of one's, two's and three's surrendered, as a day's work.

"To the bushy and otherwise very difficult terrain, to the character of the warfare of the rebels, amigo and foe in the self-same hour, to the humanity of the troops, of which both



rebels and sympathizing inhabitants take advantage for purposes of deception, to the fear of assassination on the part of the friendly disposed, if they give information, is due the prolongation of the guerrilla warfare in the provinces named. I think a majority of the inhabitants wish for peace, an end to the disorder which disturbs these provinces; but, as before said, the well-disposed are completely terrorized and dare not aid the troops with information, nor can they resist contribution of supplies when demanded,—both because of the many assassinations under such conditions.”

[*Summary of omitted portions:* On the Island of Mindoro it is reported that the insurgent forces number about 200, but General Chaffee believes that “the folly of resistance will not be continued for long.” The situation in the Island of Samar has improved, “but it is probable dispersion of the troops for the security of the inhabitants will be necessary for many months.” Lucban, with about 200 insurgents, is operating in Samar. In Cebu there are about 100 insurrectos with rifles, “and the military of the island appears to have done little to put them down.” This island, General Chaffee says, “is a case where extreme tenderness and kindness has been unappreciated, and has failed to convert disorderly natives into peaceably disposed citizens.” The Island of Bohol “needs more military attention than hitherto given to it.”]

“The sections specifically named above — namely, Batangas and Laguna Provinces, in the Island of Luzon, the Islands of Samar, Mindoro, Cebu, and Bohol — constitute the area disturbed at this time by any embodied force of insurgents. The number of men is not large, but the nature of the warfare pursued by them — guerrilla warfare — conduces to delay in the ending of the matter. It is only by continuous search that we occasionally find their haunts and quarters. The results obtained since June 10, the day of the last table of surrenders, captures, etc., submitted by General MacArthur, to include September 15, is shown in the statement appended.

“On taking over command of the division, all armed forces, the troops, the native scouts, and municipal police were subject to the orders of the Division Commander. However desirable this condition may be from a military view as a safeguard for some years, and during the evolution of this semi-civilized people (semi-civilized in the sense, at least, that

three-fourths have no conception of civil government, no idea of the means and method under it which they must pursue to protect themselves from abuse and oppression, and who are easily swayed by unscrupulous men among them) from a condition of three-fourths ignorance to a plane of comprehending citizenship, it is impossible that the military should control the municipal police, and expect civil government, provincial and municipal, to efficiently function at the same time.

"The President's order of June 21, could not be effectively carried out without hearty co-operation existing between the civil and the military in these Islands; and, with this purpose in view for the military, the civil governor was requested to name the provinces which, in his opinion, were in a satisfactory state of pacification and had the necessary civil organization for the administration of affairs, for the maintenance of law and order, and for the protection of life and property, without assistance from the troops. He was advised that on securing the list it would be published for the information of the troops, with instructions that would withdraw interference on the part of the military with civil matters."

"The correspondence, with order based on same, is filed as an exhibit (A).\*

"It will be observed that, while my letter specified certain conditions necessary for civil government, the civil governor

---

\* This exhibit bears on the complicated and difficult relation between the civil and military administrators, and consists chiefly of an exchange of correspondence between Governor Taft and General Chaffee about placing certain organized provinces under the control of the civil governor, and the draft of the general order by which this was accomplished. The result of this correspondence and the order was to give the local civil governments and the courts established by the commission a free hand, but not to withdraw what General Chaffee elsewhere speaks of as a necessary "military contemplation of events." The enforcement of public order was to be intrusted primarily to the local police acting under the direction of the civil authorities. To further strengthen the hand of the civil executive, it was arranged, however, that in certain provinces the processes issued by the courts should, upon written request from the courts, be served and executed by soldiers. The military forces were not to be wholly withdrawn from any region; and various directions were given, according to which the civil authorities would be enabled to call in their aid in case the municipal police proved unequal to a difficulty. The act of July 17, 1901, restoring the Provinces of Batangas, Cebu, and Bohol to the executive control of the military governor, is also printed in this exhibit.

replied that provincial governments had been organized in certain provinces. He quoted the language used by me, however; and from that fact I was forced to the conclusion that it was his opinion municipalities were sufficiently organized to assume control of the duty of maintaining order.

"The withdrawal of interference of the military with civil affairs does not contemplate withdrawal of the troops from their stations to any considerable extent. On the contrary, this should not be done hastily, and, when undertaken, should be gradual and more in the nature of concentration than reduction of force or abandonment of any considerable area of territory.

"The civil governments which have been organized, provincial and municipal, are both new and untried. The *personnel* of municipal governments, and not a small part of provincial governments as well, are practically unknown in character and sentiment to the governing power in these Islands. It is not satisfactorily known that the opinions of these persons are in full accord with the theory of government proposed for the people, which, if not comprehended and observed, or, if not observed willingly, then enforced with efficient means, fails in its wise purpose. The presence of the troops is necessary to make self-evident to the least intelligent that what is prescribed is to be observed, and also to understand that the military force is present to assist the civil authorities. There is but one certain and reliable method of ascertaining progress of this people in self-government (which, under favorable conditions, must be slow), and their sentiments toward the authority set over them; viz., observation by the army. The public press, or the pulse of highly civilized, self-governing communities, from which is gathered daily information regarding progress of events and sentiments of the masses, is not in evidence anywhere outside of Manila. No one will, I think, gainsay the necessity for information of a certain character, very important under the circumstances, and obtainable from but one reliable source,—the army.

"Concentration of the troops would be greatly in the in-

terest of the army and economy ; but neither is of such vital importance, temporarily, at least, as military contemplation of events and moral support of the civil governments during the time necessary for complete organization and for a further period during trial, also for familiarization of the people with the new order of things. I recommend that no further material reduction of troops be made before January 1, 1903.

[*Summary of omitted portions:* Recommendation with regard to quartering troops in case concentration is undertaken.]

"As I conclude this report, telegraphic advice brings me the meagre outline of a dreadful disaster falling upon Company C, 9th Infantry, stationed at the remote town of Balangiga, on the south coast of the Island of Samar, where, in the early morning of September 28, three officers and about fifty enlisted men met a horrible death, being cut to pieces by bolos. The company present, about seventy-six strong, was overwhelmed by a rush of some 450 bolo-men, who, in the surprise, succeeded in getting between our soldiers, who were at breakfast, and their arms.

"Born, raised, and educated in a country where peaceful conditions prevail, and where one's neighbors can be trusted, where security for life and property is assured by peaceful processes and through civil means, I fear our soldiers, transplanted to a strange sphere of action, do not fully realize or appreciate the difference in their surroundings, and naturally fall into the error of complaisant trustfulness in a seeming friendliness on the part of the native population, and thus fail to discriminate between real and professed or assumed friendship.

"The experience of Company C will help to eradicate this feeling, and perhaps prevent a recurrence of a disaster whose cause, I cannot but feel, is largely due to over-confidence in assumed pacified conditions, and in a people who, to a great extent as yet, are strangers to, and unappreciative of, our humane and personal liberty, beliefs, and actions. Nevertheless, they exhibit evident signs of educational possibilities, and gradually an attainment to the higher plane of our civilization may be hoped for."

## THE INSULAR CASES.

*Dooley v. United States*, 182 U. S. 222.

*De Lima v. Bidwell*, 182 U. S. 1.

*Downes v. Bidwell*, 182 U. S. 244.

These cases which were argued before the Supreme Court of the United States at the same time brought before the court the status of territory acquired by the United States by conquest at the three distinct periods through which all territory so acquired must pass in the course of its transfer from its former owner to the United States.

1. After occupation by our military forces and before formal cession by its former sovereign.
2. After the formal cession and before Congress has formally acted in regard to it.
3. After Congress has formally acted.

The cases arose out of duties exacted upon goods passing between the Island of Porto Rico and the port of New York during each period. The duties were paid under protest; and the owners of the goods brought these actions to recover the money thus paid, claiming in every case that the collection of the duties was contrary to the provision of the Constitution that all duties shall be uniform throughout the United States.

The questions before the court and the opinions of a majority of the justices in the various cases were substantially as follows:—

In *Dooley v. United States*, Dooley, Smith & Co., during the first period mentioned above, imported goods into the Island of Porto Rico upon part of which he was forced to pay duties under the terms of a proclamation issued by General Miles, military commander of the United States forces on the island, and upon the remainder of which he was forced to pay duty under a customs tariff for Porto Rico proclaimed by order of the President.

The Supreme Court was unanimously of the opinion that these duties were legally levied and collected. During the occupation of conquered territory before its formal cession such territory does not cease to be foreign. The Constitution of the United States does not apply to it. It is governed by the Commander-in-chief of our forces by virtue of belligerent right. His power does not flow from the Constitution, but from the laws of war; and there is no limit to the powers he may exert in such cases save those found in the laws and usages of war.

In *De Lima v. Bidwell*, De Lima & Co., during the second period mentioned above, imported sugar into the port of New York. The collector of the port exacted duties under the provisions of the Dingley Tariff Act which had been passed in 1897.

The question decided by the majority of the court in this case was a narrow one. The importer claimed that the duties should be refunded: first, on the ground that the goods imported were not dutiable by the terms of the Dingley Tariff Act, since they were not imported from a foreign country *within the meaning of that act*; and, second, on the ground that, if their first contention should be decided against them and the goods held liable to duty under the provisions of the act, so much of the act as levied duties upon imports from Porto Rico would be unconstitutional because by the treaty of cession the island became part of the territory of the United States and the uniformity clause of the Constitution applied to it.

The majority of the court was of the opinion that by the treaty of cession and the taking possession under it the island became domestic territory. Being such, it could not be foreign for any purpose. It was, therefore, not a foreign country within the meaning of the tariff laws, but a territory of the United States; and, therefore, the provisions of the Dingley law did not apply to it. Such being the decision of the majority of the court, the second contention of the importer with regard to the constitutionality of the act was not passed upon by them.

In *Downes v. Bidwell*, S. B. Downes & Co., during the third period mentioned above,—that is to say, after the cession of the island to the United States, and after the passage of the act of Congress known as the Foraker Act, establishing a civil government and revenue for the island,—imported goods into the port of New York; and the collector of the port exacted the duties imposed upon such goods by the terms of the Foraker Act.

A majority of the court held that the act imposing duties upon the above goods was constitutional, and the duty, therefore, legally exacted; but the members of the court constituting the majority reached this conclusion by at least two widely divergent lines of reasoning. Mr. Justice Brown, who announced the conclusion and judgment of the court, was of the opinion that the Foraker Act was constitutional for the broad reason that the uniformity clause of the Constitution applied only to the States, and that, therefore, discriminating duties might be placed upon goods coming from Porto Rico, as well as from those imported from any other of the older territories of the nation. In his opinion, Congress, in legislating for the territories, is not wholly free from constitutional restrictions. Some of the provisions of the Constitution apply to the territories, and some do not, depending largely upon phraseology.

Justices White, Shiras, McKenna, and Gray concurred in the conclusion of Mr. Justice Brown, but for different reasons. In their opinions, all the provisions of the Constitution apply to all parts of the United States, States and territories alike; but conquest, treaty of cession, and occupation are not sufficient to make territory part of the United States in the above sense. In addition there must be some act of Congress incorporating the territory thus acquired in the United States. Such an act need not be a formal act of incorporation. Any act formally recognizing the territory as part of the United States is sufficient. The Foraker Act does not satisfy the requirements, however, because it establishes only a temporary government. In their opinion, therefore, Porto Rico is owned by the United States, but is

in a situation different from the older territories of the country in that the provisions of the Constitution do not apply to it or to Congress in legislating for it.

The decisions in the foregoing cases were handed down May 27, 1901. On December 2 the decisions in the Diamond Rings Case and in *Dooley v. United States* (known as the second Dooley case) were handed down.

In the Diamond Rings Case a soldier named Pepke purchased during the second period mentioned above, certain rings in Luzon, Philippine Islands, and brought them with him to the United States. The rings were seized in Chicago by a customs officer for non-payment of duties.

The court decided by the same majority as in the De Lima case that the question raised was the same in both cases, and that in this case, therefore, no duty on the rings could be collected.

In the second Dooley case, Dooley, Smith & Co., during the third period mentioned above, imported goods into the island of Porto Rico upon which they were required to pay duties under that part of the Foraker Act which requires all merchandise "coming into Porto Rico from the United States" to pay 15 per cent. of the duties which are required to be paid upon like articles imported from foreign countries.

The constitutionality of this provision was attacked on the ground that "no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State." The court decided, however, that the word "export" means goods carried to a foreign country, which Porto Rico was not at this time, and that, moreover, this was in fact a tax on imports to Porto Rico levied by Congress on behalf of Porto Rico rather than on exports from the United States.



## WASHINGTON LETTER.

*By Staff Correspondent.*

Although the members of Congress who visited the Philippines during the summer have not yet had an opportunity to be heard in Congress as to their findings, they are talking in private with their friends quite freely. Such conversations, it should be remembered, afford the most trustworthy insight to their real opinions. What do these returned statesmen think of our new domain in Asia? To a less extent than would be supposed does the division of opinion on this question assume party lines, although its outward expression may, for a long time to come, remain on that basis.

Among Democrats there is a noticeable change of feeling toward the Filipino: they regard him as less of a hero than before, as less fitted for self-government, and Aguinaldo in particular they no longer suggest in comparison with George Washington. As a corollary to this, they are apt to think civil government has been extended too fast, and that our mistake with the Filipinos will be more likely to consist in the assumption that they are like ourselves rather than in keeping them too long without local self-government. To this extent has a visit to the Islands served to bring the Democrats (and most of those who have been there are Democratic representatives) nearer to the position of the dominant party, and so more in sympathy with its future moves.

But the Republican members who have looked in on the Islands have been quite as diligent in gaining impressions which carry them well over toward certain positions of their opponents. For example, Ebenezer J. Hill, of Connecticut, representing in Congress the Norwalk district, started on his tour around the world this summer with strong confidence in our imperialistic experiment. Many times has he told the writer in times past that he believed in our mission in the

East. He was early carried away with the idea of enlarging our trade interests and exemplifying our civil institutions in Asia through such territorial acquisitions as this. He remained an imperialist while in Hawaii, and became a strong partisan of the Dole government. But when he got to Manila, although it was July and the weather oppressive, to use the vernacular of the street, his views encountered "a frost." "I don't want to say much about that," is the significant comment which he makes on the wisdom of the experiment. In his lecture before the Geographical Society here next week, I understand that he is to say what he remarks in personal conversation, that the foreign nation which acquired the Bahama Islands to gain an entrepôt to New York and Philadelphia would be as wise as we are in thinking Manila an entrepôt to China. In many instances the cost of freighting from Manila to the Chinese cities is greater than from our own coast to those points. Representative Shafroth, of Colorado, a Democrat, made some investigations along that line, gathering facts which are quite convincing. Mr. Hill also quotes approvingly in his lectures the Russian maxim that the empire never goes where the Cossack cannot march.

Mr. Hill's chief objection to the Philippine Islands seems to be their relative worthlessness to the United States. He did not like the natives, did not think their resources offered the extraordinary opportunities for American capital and labor that had been pictured. He, too, agrees with the Democrats that civil government is advancing too rapidly. Representative D. H. Mercer, of Nebraska, a strong Republican from one of the strongest of imperialistic States, is understood to hold much the same view as Mr. Hill, although neither welcomes much publicity just now.

Julius Kahn, a new California Congressman, on the other hand, was entranced with the beauty and desirability of the Islands. He loses no opportunity to voice an opinion in consonance with the conventional views of his party. Charles A. Conant, who went out as a special agent of the War Department to investigate coinage and finance, also gives a glowing account of our "magnificent empire." He sustains every

point that the imperialists have long argued. In his opinion, Duty, Destiny, and Profit all conspire to make the Philippine experiment exceedingly wise. Mr. J. K. Ohl, on the other hand, one of the best known of Southern newspaper correspondents, and representing the *Atlanta Constitution*, of imperialistic tendencies, comes home speaking in a minor key. He says that he was disappointed in the Islands as a piece of property, and also convinced that the fighting before our soldiers is by no means over. Mr. Conant, however, believes it not more serious than that on our Western frontier in days gone by, and compares the proposal to withdraw from the archipelago to a relinquishment of the Louisiana Purchase because of some Indian outbreaks within its limits. And thus "sinners disagree"!

Among the army officers, too, there is considerable disagreement, although obviously still greater caution in the expression of heretical opinions. One army officer of high rank, who has visited the Philippine Islands this summer, pictures to the writer a situation like this:—

"Suppose some men in the other room have been fighting me with guns, and are worsted. I get their guns away, and with my superior skill and superior arms make great inroads among them. They finally realize that they can no longer antagonize me with these weapons, but rather than give up to me they decide to take knives and go into the bushes. You may know that such men mean business when they propose to fight at even greater odds. That is about the situation in the Philippines to-day."

It is of course easy to find army officers who believe that peace and order are practically established, and that by our rule alone have anarchy, chaos, and Philippine absorption by European powers been avoided. The public thus has an array of testimony from which to choose. The beauty of the present campaign of education is that the contestants are gradually reaching a common ground.

Next to the President's message, the great Philippine document of the month has been the Supreme Court decisions (reviewed in this journal elsewhere). The prevalent opinion

here is that the court has done exactly what was to be expected, according with the insular decisions rendered in the spring, and that Congress in its House and Senate bills is also doing the "thing to be expected." The absolute power of Congress, which our highest tribunal continues to declare, may yet be the means of extricating us from a more troublesome Philippine situation than the present one. We have no known means of dismembering the American Republic short of revolution. Had the court decided that the Islands were an integral part of the republic, we might have had to keep them when we did not want to, provided such a day ever comes with our constitutional majority. Now we may do as we please, through Congress, which may undergo a complete transformation in six years, or one year less than, according to the old theory, it took for a making-over of the human system. This may be a fortunate result of the decisions of the Supreme Court that these Islands are "other property" of the United States.

Congress is not as yet officially doing much with the Philippine question. The sugar controversy, raised by Cuba's piteous appeal, is thus far the chief insular problem. Its settlement will throw light on our purposes toward our island wards in matters supposedly affecting the domestic pocket book, and specifically the protective theory.

One peculiarity of Filipino character comes to light in the package of letters on file at the War Department from places in the archipelago expressing sympathy over the death of President McKinley. These Asiatics are evidently great "sympathizers." At Bacarra the officers of the local *presentia*, whose names are written in the margin of the letter,—and the list is quite extensive,—met in extraordinary session to take action over the death of the "Honorable Mr. McKinley, President of the United States and of the Philippine Islands." They expressed their grief at the dastardly act; and, "after a few moments of sobbing and silence, they unanimously resolved to record in the minutes the deep sorrow which the death of the honorable President has caused. . . . And that in support of the soul of so distinguished a President there

be sent a committee to the parish priests that funeral offices may be performed the next day."

The municipal council of Santa Cruz, Laguna, adopted a programme of mourning, of which the following sections are a part :—

That during the next thirty days the inhabitants of this town without distinction will have the lanterns draped with crepe as a sign of national mourning, and the flag at the council house will be at half mast for the same period.

The secretary will read the proclamation by the civil governor of the next 14th instant, announcing the death of the Honorable President, William McKinley, at the conclusion of which the orchestra will play a funeral march.

Oration by the president in Tagalog and Spanish.

At the conclusion the people will show their respect to the Military Chief, begging to this most Honorable Chief to transmit their sorrow to the civil governor, Mr. Taft, so that he may transmit it to the United States government.

WASHINGTON, December 14.

## CURRENT PHILIPPINE LITERATURE.

---

### THE LAW AND POLICY OF ANNEXATION.

*By Carman F. Randolph.*

Carman F. Randolph, Esq., of the New York bar, has written an extremely interesting book, entitled "The Law and Policy of Annexation with Special Reference to the Philippines, together with Observations on the Status of Cuba." A brief summary of the conclusions reached by Mr. Randolph in this book is given below.

By the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States; and the fact is not disputed that by that treaty the United States became the owner of the Islands. The question which has arisen is as to the effect of this ownership. Does it bring the Islands within the United States, defining the United States as all the land within the territorial jurisdiction of Congress and constituting one national territory? This question has been answered in the negative by the Administration, whose attitude toward the Islands is that, while the treaty-making body intended to bring and did bring the Islands under the complete sovereignty of the United States, it intended to hold, and did hold them aloof from the United States except in that international sense which conveys no idea whatever of domestic unity. But this position is untenable. By the Treaty of Paris "Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands," and "cedes" her "sovereignty" thereof. By ratifying this treaty and appropriating \$20,000,000 to carry out its provisions, the United States have accepted completely the sovereignty of the Islands. This fact in connection with the fact that the United States are in possession shows clearly that the Islands are impressed with the nationality of our republic; for Chief Justice Marshall has said that, if territory be ceded by treaty, its acquisition is confirmed, and the ceded

territory becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed. The Philippines are, therefore, part of the United States in the same sense that the older territories are parts of it; and whatever provisions in regard to the government of the Islands the Treaty of Paris contains which cannot constitutionally be enforced in the United States, instead of showing, as has been contended, that the Islands are not incorporated into the United States, are merely unconstitutional and void.

The Philippines being a part of the United States, the Constitution extends to them. For the Constitution was ordained for the territories as well as for the States. Indeed, "I am justified in stating that it [the restriction of its operation to the States] is not encouraged by a single dictum of the Supreme Court, hardly countenanced, indeed, by a questioning phrase, and has been repeatedly discredited in that seat of authority." Furthermore, the Constitution extends to the Islands of its own force and without further act of Congress; for Congress is the creature of the Constitution, and is bound to obey it wherever it is supreme, not privileged to decide where within the United States it shall be supreme.

The Constitution confers upon the government powers adequate to rule the Islands; and the effect of our constitutional provisions in regard to citizenship and civil rights, slavery, commerce, and taxation, is, generally speaking, as follows: Our government may pacify the Islands by any method public opinion will tolerate, and the President may administer them after a fashion until Congress shall exert its powers. All persons born in the Philippines after annexation and subject to our jurisdiction are citizens of the United States. The effect of this is that, while such of the Filipinos as are born of parents living in a tribal state are not citizens because they, like tribal Indians, are not subject to United States jurisdiction, children born of parents in arms against the government are citizens, because the war is a civil and not a foreign war, and the parents are, therefore, in theory subject to United States jurisdiction. All persons born in the Philippines prior to annexation and not living in a tribal state have become by virtue of the annexation citizens of the United States, for by annexation of the land on which they

lived they became impressed with our nationality, and nationality in the case of the United States carries citizenship with it; but citizenship gives them no voice in federal affairs and no right to regulate their own, the entire sovereignty over territory beyond the States being vested exclusively in the federal legislature. Slavery is forbidden by the Constitution in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and this covers all parts of the Philippine archipelago. The Filipinos are entitled to the civil rights conferred by the Constitution of life, liberty, and property, including the right to pass freely from one part of the republic to another, to liberty of speech and of the press, to bear arms, but only for the security of a free State, not for the benefit of insurgents, and to assemble peaceably and petition for redress of grievances. Commerce between the Philippines and foreign countries must be subject to the same duties as that of the remainder of the United States, and their commerce with the remainder of the United States must be free of all duties.

In regard to commerce the act providing a form of government and revenue for Porto Rico has contravened the above principles. It has imposed duties on goods taken to that island from the mainland of the United States, and upon goods taken from the island to the mainland. The fact that these duties are imposed not to increase the general federal revenue, but to pay the expenses of administering the government of Porto Rico, does not validate them; for, although Congress may impose certain taxes in the territories as it sees fit, regardless of the amount of those taxes in the States or other territories, it is bound by the provision of the Constitution that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States, and these taxes must therefore be equal everywhere, in the territories as well as the States.

Although the Constitution in theory extends over the Philippines, constitutional rule cannot actually prevail in those Islands until the authority of the United States shall be supreme there in fact as it is in theory, for constitutional guarantees are valueless unless persons injured have recourse to competent tribunals for redress. Even after the authority



of the United States shall have been established there, federal courts opened, and necessary laws enacted, the inhabitants of the Islands must learn to live up to the Constitution before it can mean to them what it means to us. If in addition it be true, as has been stated, that the provisions of the Constitution are such that we cannot govern the Philippines in accordance with them, there are but two courses open to us. We may give up the Philippines, and in future acquire only such territory as we can govern in accordance with the Constitution, or we must by an amendment to the Constitution delegate to the government power to administer the Islands in accordance with imperial standards. Meanwhile the present Constitution is the law; and the judiciary must decide all questions before it in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, irrespective of political consequences.

In regard to the method of governing the Philippines under the Constitution, all the powers of government were originally in the hands of the President. His authority originated in belligerent occupation of foreign territory, and has not been entirely dissolved by the transfer of the Islands at the end of the war, but continues until superseded by Congress. So long as the war lasted, his powers were supreme and unfettered. He could make such laws as he saw fit, and carry them out in any manner which seemed best to him. Upon the conclusion of the treaty of peace his legislative powers ceased altogether, and his executive powers became the same there as in any other part of the United States. Until Congress legislates for the Islands, he must govern them as best he can under such of the old Spanish laws and of the military orders in force at the conclusion of peace as are consistent with the provisions of our Constitution, together with such executive regulations as may be necessary.

The President has, however, far exceeded these powers. He has, without act by Congress, appointed a commission empowered to raise revenue by taxes, customs duties, and imposts, appropriate and expend the public funds of the Islands, establish an educational system, organize and es-

tablish courts, etc. This amounts to a positive assertion of an executive power to govern the Philippines without the assent of Congress. No intrinsic merit in these legislative decrees can justify such a trespass upon the domain of Congress. The decrees are not to be excused by reason of necessity, for Congress could have authorized the enactment of laws of like tenor. And the worst feature of the case is that we are not asked to be generous toward an administration that pleads necessity as an excuse for overstepping the law, but are expected to applaud an administration that, like the British crown, asserts a right to make laws for new territory until the legislature sees fit to interfere.

Congress is supreme in the Philippines. It is upon that body that the exclusive duty to legislate for the Islands rests. It has over them as over the other territories the entire dominion and sovereignty, national and municipal, federal and State. Thus it stands in a double relation to them, treating them as part of the republic in matters of federal concern and caring for their local interests as a State government might. The local affairs of the Islands may be administered by it with a single regard to the peculiar interests of the Islands, for the Constitution does not prescribe that all territories shall be administered from a common standpoint. Any form of government is permissible, subject always to subsequent alteration by the sovereign body Congress.

By the transfer of the Philippines to the United States all the old laws of the country are not necessarily abrogated. With the following exceptions they continue in force until Congress sees fit to change them. All laws conflicting with the Constitution are null and void ; and, if an act of Congress extends of its own force to the ceded territory, it displaces all laws inconsistent with its provisions.

A serious problem confronts us in the attitude to be assumed toward the religious orders. If it shall turn out, as is claimed, that the presence of the friars in the Philippines is really inimical to the peace of the Islands, it is difficult to see what Congress can do about it. The main source of power of the friars arises from possession of large tracts of

land. Other countries have at times found no difficulty in expelling objectionable religious orders, and even in confiscating their property; but the United States are bound by the Constitution to respect both religion and property. They are forbidden to interfere at all with the one. They are empowered to take the other only for public use.

If the United States does not care to continue to govern the Philippines, there is no difficulty in the way of its getting rid of them. It need not cede them to a foreign nation, but may establish a protectorate over them, as one step toward granting them absolute independence. This can be done along the lines of protectorates established by other countries. (Examples of protectorates are given by Mr. Randolph at length.)

In Mr. Randolph's opinion, we can and should withdraw from the Islands. He thinks that by so doing we should re-establish the truth that the strength of our republic is not maintained by mere enlargement of boundaries or by mere addition of peoples, but is founded upon the competency and loyalty of the civic body and upon the "indestructible union of indestructible States."

[There are no articles dealing with the Philippines in the December magazines which seem to the editors to deserve especial summaries here.]

## SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS.

*From November 15 to December 23.*

November 16.—An American company of infantry in the Island of Samar attacked by insurgents, who quickly broke and scattered. American casualties, 2 killed and 1 wounded; Filipino casualties, 16 killed.

Captain Hall, who has been scouting for several days in Batangas Province, has had four separate engagements with the insurgents there. Result of scouting, one insurgent officer and 50,000 pounds of rice captured. General Sumner reports attack upon 400 insurgents in Batangas Province on Wednesday last. Insurgents routed. General Sumner says this is the most severe blow the insurgents have suffered since he assumed command.

The municipal authorities have decided to enlarge the city of Manila, and to incorporate within its limits the municipality of Santa Ana.

November 21.—Major J. L. Waller of the marine corps has cabled to Rear-Admiral Rodgers at Manila a detailed account of an attack made on the 7th by the men of his command upon the rebel stronghold at Sojoton, near Basey, Island of Samar. Three insurgent camps were destroyed, 40 bamboo cannon were captured, and much rice and other stores were destroyed. The insurgent stronghold was almost impregnable. The trails leading to it were lined with poisoned spears sticking up from the ground, and were filled with hidden pitfalls. Major Waller's command attacked the enemy unexpectedly. To do this, they had to scale a cliff 200 feet high. This they climbed barefooted, over bamboo ladders. At the top they found boulders piled up, ready to be precipitated upon an attacking party.

Aguinaldo has written to General Chaffee, asking the latter's permission to go before Congress, accompanied by eight friends (four of whom are prisoners at Guam, while the others are prominent in Manila), to express the desires of the Filipino people.

November 23.—News received at Manila from the Island of Samar is encouraging, although up to the present time there have been no wholesale surrender of natives. The Filipinos captured there by our troops show evidences of suffering and hunger. The coasts of the island are closely patrolled by gunboats using search-lights, so that it is almost impossible for the natives to land food. The gunboats have captured over \$20,000 in cash and \$100,000 worth of hemp, which have been confiscated. The system of taxation maintained by the insurgent leader, Lucban, was perfect and exhaustive. Two per cent. was given to the locale presidente, who collected the majority of the island's

revenue from those natives who had sworn allegiance to the United States, and turned it over to the rebel authorities.

It has been officially reported that the insurgent leader, Caballos, has 500 fully armed men under his command in Laguna Province, Luzon. An insurgent officer, just captured, admits that Caballos has 1,000 men with him, and contemplated attacking Mauban, which probably accounts for the cutting of the telegraph lines near that place.

November 30.—Insurgents are active in Batangas Province. Brigadier-general Bell with a battalion of the Fifth Infantry left Manila yesterday to assume command of the troops in that province.

December 2.—Several small engagements have occurred in Batangas Province in the last few days. The forces of the insurgent leader Caballos have become badly demoralized, and his followers are broken up into several small bands. He holds two American prisoners.

The financial situation in the Philippine Islands is causing considerable alarm. Commissioner Ide is reported as referring to the probable enforcement of an alteration in the immediate future of the present government parity of two Mexican dollars for one gold dollar. The United States post-office at Manila now refuses, except to government employees, to issue money orders in exchange for Mexican silver. The banks of Manila have been making from 6 to 8 per cent. on exchange. Merchants and others are forced to carry their accounts in Mexican silver. The commercial community had relied upon the United States Philippine Commission to continue the situation of the two Mexican dollars for one gold dollar which the commission itself created, but the commission unfortunately is unable to act in the matter without the authority of Congress. This authorization has been requested.

December 6.—General Chaffee has issued orders for the closing of all ports in the provinces of Laguna and Batangas. The Quartermasters there will cease paying rents to the Filipinos for buildings used for military purposes, as it is known that a large proportion of the money so paid finds its way to the insurgents in the shape of contributions; and General Chaffee intends that no more government funds shall find their way into the hands of the enemy. The reason for closing the ports is that too many supplies are found to be getting into the possession of the insurgents. General Chaffee intends giving General Bell, commanding the troops in Batangas Province, all the assistance he may require to subdue the insurrectos.

December 9.—Superintendent Atkinson has written a letter to Pedro Paterno, the Filipino politician, saying that instructions have been given to every school throughout the Islands to celebrate annually the birthday of Jose Rizal, the Filipino patriot executed by the Spaniards.

A military commission has sentenced the Filipino general, Isidoro Torres, to be hanged, after finding him guilty of ordering the assassination of an American corporal last October. The sentence of the commission has been disapproved by General Chaffee.

December 16.—The insurgent general Torres has been released.

He has expressed the highest regard for General Chaffee, and his appreciation that the supreme military power in the Philippines is in the hands of such a man, and says he is submissive to the existing conditions.

General Bell has been exceedingly active in Batangas Province, where he intends by every means available to stamp out the insurrection. There are daily small fights between the insurgents and the men of General Bell's command, in which the former are almost invariably routed. Lieutenant Hennesey, of the Eighth Infantry, captured insurgent major with 42 men, 22 rifles, and 880 rounds of ammunition, without the loss of a man.

A number of captured documents now in the hands of General Bell implicate in the insurrection the presidente and other prominent natives of Lian, Batangas Province. General Bell has notified the natives in Batangas that on the 28th he proposes to concentrate them in the neighborhood of the towns. He will move their live stock and rice to within the limits of concentration. After this date everything outside these limits will be confiscated.

The roads from Batangas and Laguna Provinces are lined with a continual stream of native men, women, and children, seeking safety from the horrors of war.







## FACTS ABOUT THE FILIPINOS

As found in United States Documents and Other Authentic Publications.

---

This series of ten pamphlets has been prepared by the Philippine Information Society with a view to rendering easily accessible to the American people the most authentic information obtainable with regard to the people of the Philippine Islands, and our relations to them. The series covers the history of Philippine affairs from May, 1898, to July, 1901, drawn chiefly from Government Documents, and furnished with full references. The publications are not edited in the interest of any party or policy, and have been generally accepted as authoritative and judicial. It is believed that they will be of particular value to students and teachers of history.

---

The topics dealt with in the first series are as follows :

1. **The Islands and the People.**
2. **Were Promises made to Aguinaldo? Our Relations with the Insurgents prior to the Fall of Manila, August, 1898.**
3. **The Crucial Test : The Insurgent Government of 1898.**
4. **The Parting of the Ways: Aguinaldo and the American Generals, August, 1898, to January, 1899.**
5. **Crossing the Rubicon : An Episode of January, 1899, and Incidents leading up to the Outbreak of Hostilities.**
6. **Outbreak of Hostilities, February 4, 1899, and Seeking an Armistice, April and May, 1899.**
7. **Luzon Campaign of 1899.**
8. **Taking the Southern Islands, January, 1898, to July, 1900.**
9. **A Period of Guerrilla Warfare, November, 1899, to September, 1900.**
10. **Progress in Pacification, September, 1900, to July, 1901.**

---

These Publications may be obtained from the Philippine Information Society, 62 Wall Street, New York. Price, \$1.00. Single copies, 10 cents.



# THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1902

Volume Two  
Number Four

Price, 10 Cents

\$1.00 a Year

**The Philippine Information Society**

62 Wall Street, New York

Branch Office: 12 Otis Place, Boston, Mass.



OFFICERS OF  
THE PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY.

---

*Chairman :*

JAMES J. PUTNAM, M.D., 106 Marlborough Street, Boston.

*Vice-Chairmen :*

HENRY CARTER ADAMS, Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

FRANCIS BLAKE, Auburndale, Mass.

EDWARD G. BOURNE, Ph.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

HENRY P. BOWDITCH, Ph.D., Harvard Medical School, Boston.

ARTHUR ASTOR CARY, 50 State Street, Boston.

RICHARD WATSON GILDER, Century Building, New York.

THOMAS C. MENDENHALL, LL.D., Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.

JOSIAH ROYCE, Ph.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK, Ph.D., Institute of Technology, Boston.

*Secretary :*

L. K. FULLER, 12 Otis Place, Boston.

*Treasurer :*

J. PENNINGTON GARDINER, Colonial Building, Boston.

---

OFFICES :

62 WALL STREET, New York.

12 OTIS PLACE, Boston.

# *The Philippine Review.*

*Vol. II.*

*February, 1902.*

*No. 4*

---

## CONTENTS.

Considerations Suggested by the Philippine Treason Law.	
By John G. Palfrey . . . . .	133
Questions of Philippine Government.	
As Discussed by the Taft Commission . . . . .	141
Debate on the Tariff Bill in the House of Representatives . . .	156
Washington Letter.	
By a Staff Correspondent . . . . .	160
Current Philippine Literature . . . . .	166
Summary of Associated Press News . . . . .	169
Map . . . . .	173

---

**THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW** is a monthly publication furnishing in condensed and readily comprehensible form all current information concerning the political and social conditions in the Philippines, compiled from trustworthy sources, supplemented by correspondence from competent persons in the Philippines.

**THE PRICE.**—Subscription price is \$1.00 a year, payable in advance; single copies, 10 cents. Membership in the Society is \$5 per annum.

**Letters** should be addressed, and **Checks** made payable, to

**The Philippine Information Society,**

62 WALL STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.

---

\$.....190

**PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY,**

62 Wall Street, New York.

Enclosed please find \$5 for membership fee, or \$1 for subscription for  
**PHILIPPINE REVIEW** from.....190  
to.....190

Name,.....  
Street or Box,.....  
City or Town,.....  
State,.....

# The Philippine Review

---

VOL. II.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY, 1902.

NO. 4.

---

## CONSIDERATIONS SUGGESTED BY THE PHILIPPINE TREASON LAW.

*By John G. Palfrey.*

A country, when it comes under the dominion of a new sovereignty, retains its old laws until they are changed by a competent authority, at least those of its old laws which are not inconsistent with the political principles of the new sovereign. Such was the case in the Philippines. The Philippine Commission, however, in some instances has codified, and in certain respects modified, the Spanish laws previously in force. On November 4, 1901, a codification of the laws of treason and sedition went into effect, which is worthy of a passing notice as to the extent of the changes made in the Spanish Penal Code, and the relation which these changes bear to the legislation hitherto enacted by our Congress.

The first four sections deal with crimes against the government. These are divided, as in the Spanish Code, into treason, rebellion, and sedition. As to the first, treason, and the similar crime of misprision of treason, the definitions of Spanish crimes are translated into the phraseology of those sections of the Revised Statutes of the United States which were passed at the time of the Civil War, with the single change, which we shall again note hereafter, that they may now be committed by persons residing in the Philippines, not only those who owe allegiance to the United States, but those who owe allegiance to this strange new metaphysical entity which is a sovereign distinct from the United States even to the extent of being able to receive

allegiance, the government of the Philippine Islands. In spite of the wholly different, and in some respects more specific, provisions against treason in Articles 134-137 of the Spanish Penal Code, the scope of the two codes is nearly the same. The Spanish is possibly the more severe in two respects; it punishes recruiting for the army of a hostile nation for a purpose not directly involving hostilities against Spain; it also punishes an incomplete attempt or a frustrated act which may not have progressed far enough to amount to a levying of war within the meaning of our law. The law of the Commission, no more than the Spanish Code, requires an overt act of treason testified to by two witnesses. Does Article 3, Section 3, of the United States Constitution, requiring this overt act and two witnesses, apply in the Philippine Islands?

Of the provisions with regard to rebellion and conspiracy to overthrow the government little need be said except that they are taken almost verbatim from the Revised Statutes, changed so as to apply without ambiguity to the Philippines instead of to States of the Union in insurrection. It punishes whoever "incites sets on foot assists or engages in" any rebellion, or gives aid or comfort to a rebel. It is less broad than the Spanish Code in so far as it does not punish certain acts against the King or the reigning power that do not have the general character of rebellion, and does not punish, with a penalty as severe as if it were treason, the proclamation of the independence of any part of the Philippine Islands.

Section 5 of the new act defines sedition. It is taken almost verbatim from the Spanish Penal Code, Section 236, and since it defines a class of crimes hitherto unknown on the federal statute books, it may be of interest to reprint it:—

"All persons who rise publicly and tumultuously in order to attain by force or outside of legal methods any of the following objects, are guilty of sedition:—

1. "To prevent the promulgation or execution of any law or the free holding of any popular election.
2. "To prevent the insular government, or any Provin-



cial or Municipal Government or any public official, from freely exercising its or his duties or the due execution of any judicial or administrative order.

3. "To inflict any act of hate or revenge upon the person or property of any official or agent of the Insular Government or of a Provincial or Municipal Government.

4. "To inflict, with a political or social object, any act of hate or revenge, upon individuals or upon any class of individuals in the Islands.

5. "To despoil, with a political or social object, any class of persons, natural or artificial, a Municipality, a Province, or the Insular Government, or the Government of the United States or any part of its property."

The two succeeding sections provide for the punishment of the crime, and of conspiracy to commit it.

Section 8 punishes the uttering of seditious words or speeches, the writing, publishing, or circulation of "scurrilous libels" against the Government, "or which tend to disturb or obstruct any lawful officer in executing his office," or which tend to encourage unlawful meetings, rebellious conspiracies, or riots, or to stir up the people against the Government, or to disturb the peace. This section finds a parallel in no one of the provisions of the Spanish Code, but has fully as broad a scope as Article 253 against calumniating officials by false and malicious statements, and Article 237 which punishes those "who by inciting the seditious and making them resolute shall have promoted and supported sedition." Indeed, to complete the list of the provisions of the Spanish Code which together cover the ground of this section, we have to include Article 569 which punishes merely as for a misdemeanor "(1) those who by means of the press, lithography or other means of publication should maliciously publish false notices which might endanger public order or injure the interests or credit of the State without committing a crime (2) those who, in the same manner without committing a crime, should incite to the disobedience of the laws and of constituted authorities, should make excuses for acts qualified by the laws as crimes or should offend morals, good customs or public decency."

By a royal decree of September 12, 1897, the following persons were declared traitors, Articles 22 and 23: —

“He who shall proclaim the independence of any portion of the territory included under the denomination of the Philippine Islands.”

“He who shall perform acts tending directly or indirectly to effect in any manner whatsoever or for any object the separation of any portion of Spanish territory.”

“He who without directly working for the commission of said crime shall provoke by word or writing or through the press engravings or any other mechanical means of publicity the perpetration thereof, or shall support his action or that of the authors shall be punished with the penalty of *relegacion temporal*.”

With a milder penalty, but in as severe a form, substantially the same ground is covered by section 10 of the new act as follows:

“Until it has been officially proclaimed that a state of war or insurrection against the authority or sovereignty of the United States no longer exists in the Philippine Islands, it shall be unlawful for any person to advocate orally or by writing or printing or like methods, the independence of the Philippine Islands or their separation from the United States whether by peaceable or forcible means, or to print, publish or circulate any handbill, newspaper, or other publication advocating such independence or separation.

“Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding two thousand dollars and imprisonment not exceeding one year.”

The result is that in the Philippine Islands, until official proclamation that war or insurrection is at an end, no one, even in conversation with another person, can advocate the ultimate independence of the Islands, to be obtained by peaceful means.

The remainder of the act is mainly taken up with provisions against secret societies and political organizations, and oaths in support of such societies. The Royal Decree of 1897 already referred to declared illegal all secret societies, and societies whose members were bound to conceal the

purpose of their meetings; and forbade all oaths or agreements by which any persons became bound by "causing their actions to depend on the will of another."

Section 9 of the present act forbids the forming of any secret society, and forbids the continuance of any society (apparently whether it is secret or not) "having for its object in whole or in part the promotion of treason, rebellion or sedition or the promulgation of any political opinion or policy." Whether inadvertently or not, the Commission has condemned societies which were not illegal under Spanish rule, including loyal societies, but has been more lenient,—just as lenient as the King of Spain,—with reference to future societies. It seems probable that this was an oversight, and that the intention was to condemn only secret societies, past or future, and only such societies as have the objects above named; in which case the Spanish law would have been modified.

As to oaths, instead of the vague provision of the Spanish Code, the new law punishes in varying degrees the taking of oaths to commit certain crimes, and to withhold evidence or information; and it contains a new provision with a severe punishment for the breach of an oath taken before a United States officer.

The Act concludes with a provision that it shall not apply in Batangas, Cebu and Bohol, or in any province lacking a civil government, unless the commanding general shall authorize prosecution in the civil courts in such territories for offences under the Act; but that it shall apply to foreigners resident in the Philippines, except as to treason. The exception as to treason modified the Spanish Code, by which, under Article 138, foreigners were given the benefit only of a milder penalty.

It appears, then, that the character of the Spanish laws is not very much altered. As to treason, our familiar phraseology is adopted, but the general definition of the crime remains about as before, except in not having greater and less degrees of treason, and in not punishing foreigners, and persons who without conspiracy attempt a crime which is never consummated. The adoption of the phraseology of

the Revised Statutes leaves the mooted technical questions of our law as to accessories and as to the jurisdiction over the criminal act, in the same position as in the United States, and they are of little interest except to the expert upon the subject. To the student of public affairs the all-important question under this head is whether a conviction for treason can be secured without two witnesses to the same overt act. As to rebellion, the chief point to note is that the Spanish law has been somewhat limited, and the provisions are the same as those passed with reference to the Southern States in rebellion. With regard to sedition, and the succeeding provisions as to seditious words or libels, as to the advocacy of Philippine independence, as to secret societies and as to criminal oaths, it is impossible not to note a marked advance towards the somewhat inquisitorial point of view of the Spanish Code. The number is greatly enlarged of high political crimes which are by their nature often committed in secret or in the presence of one person, and for which convictions may be had upon the testimony of a single informer; and an unprecedented restraint placed upon personal liberty and freedom of speech. This is said without intending to condemn or to commend, or to contrast the importance of maintaining Anglo-Saxon traditions with the advisability of addressing the Filipinos in terms with which they are familiar, and by measures suited to the military exigencies. We merely note the facts, as not without significance to the student of history.

The phrase which has crept into the new act, of "allegiance to the Government of the Philippine Islands," is interesting legally as marking another phase in the controversy between territorial citizenship as opposed to personal citizenship. By the English law,—which, other things being equal, we inherited,—the persons born in any part of the king's dominions were full subjects, or, as we should now say, full citizens. One of a conquered nation, immediately upon the conquest, owed allegiance to the king, and, although not a full subject, appears to have been regarded as a denizen, had almost all of the rights of citizenship, and, conversely, was capable of the crime of treason. It has

been suggested, however, that under our Constitution and the Fifteenth Amendment the conception of "citizen" has evolved from the British conception to that of a more strictly local citizen having a right to vote and being in every respect a member of the political community of the sovereign United States. If this is true,—and we express no opinion,—the children hereafter born in the Philippines will not be citizens in this new sense; but will they any the less owe allegiance to our Sovereign, the people of the United States? And do the present Filipinos any the less owe allegiance, if to any sovereign, to the people of the United States?

The answer must undoubtedly be — no. The introduction of the phrase, "allegiance to the government of the Philippine Islands," is therefore unfortunate, and in order that it may be justified on strict legal grounds, the Government of the Philippine Islands must be understood as meaning the people of the United States in its capacity of Sovereign of the Islands.

What has been said of the allegiance of the former subjects of Spain in the Philippine Islands has a direct bearing upon the question to which we now come—Does the provision of the United States Constitution on the subject of treason apply to laws such as the present one? The third Article of the Constitution, in Section 3, provides that "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court." If the Islands are regarded as in a transition stage, and for this reason beyond the reach of constitutional provisions, there can be little reason for making an exception in favor of this particular constitutional provision. Apart from this consideration it may be said that no judicial decision hitherto gives color to the contention that the provision in question does not control acts of Congress or acts passed with the authority of Congress for the Philippine Islands. Conceding for the purpose of argument the most extreme view of

those who hold what may be termed the colonial theory of the Constitution, conceding that the provisions as to taxation, tariff, due process of law, and jury trials apply only to what is called the sovereign United States, they are at best municipal regulations and may be limited to the territory of what is politically one municipal unit; namely, the states and the territories of the old school. But treason is a matter not so strictly limited to a particular territory. Treason is a violation of allegiance; and in so far as allegiance is personal, treason is personal, and may be committed wherever the person is. It is therefore a fair suggestion that the constitutional provision governs all violations of allegiance which the United States has jurisdiction to punish, and that since the Filipino owes allegiance, and may be convicted of treason, he is entitled to ask that two witnesses be produced to a single overt act.

# QUESTIONS OF PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT

As Discussed by the Taft Commission.

## Report of the United States Philippine Commission.

December 1, 1900, to October 15, 1901.

[The report of the United States Philippine Commission, currently known as the Taft Report for 1901, covers the period from December 1, 1900, to October 15, 1901, but was not made public by the Division of Insular Affairs, War Department, until late in December. The Report contains 159 pages, and covers a very wide range of subjects, taking up the work of the commission in detail, and offering many recommendations for changes and developments in various departments.\* Under the circumstances, it has seemed best to the editors to reprint in the present number such portions only as seem of the most urgent public interest, deferring other matters of importance until a future issue. For convenience or comparison, quotations from other authorities are printed in immediate connection with the commission's statements.

The topics extracted are :—

- I. The Government for the Philippines.
  - a. Political Qualifications of the Natives.
  - b. Form of Government Recommended.
- II. The Church Question.
  - a. Recommendation with Regard to Lands claimed by Religious Orders.
  - b. Conflict between Church and State. The San José College Case.
- III. The Public Lands.
  - a. Recommendations for Modification of the Spooner Amendment.
  - b. Timber Lands.]

### I. Government for the Philippines.

#### (a) Political Qualifications of the Natives.†

“The theory upon which the commission is proceeding is that the only possible method of instructing the Filipino people in methods of free institutions and self-government

\* The views of the Commission on Currency and Banking follow closely on the lines of Mr. C. A. Conant's report, summarized in the January number of the *Philippine Review*, page 104.

† Report of the Taft Commission for 1901, page 19.

is to make a government partly of Americans and partly of Filipinos, giving the Americans the ultimate control for some time to come. In our last report we pointed out that the great body of the people were ignorant, superstitious, and at present incapable of understanding any government but that of absolutism. The intelligence and education of the people may be largely measured by knowledge of the Spanish language. Less than 10 per cent. of the people speak Spanish. With Spaniards in control of these islands for four hundred years and with Spanish spoken in all official avenues, nothing could be more significant of the lack of real intelligence among the people than this statement. The common people are not a warlike people, but are submissive and easily—indeed much too easily—controlled by the educated among them, and the power of an educated Filipino, politically ambitious, willing to plot and use all the arts of a demagogue in rousing the people, is quite dangerous. The educated people themselves, though full of phrases concerning liberty, have but a faint conception of what real civil liberty is and the mutual self-restraint which is involved in its maintenance. They find it hard to understand the division of powers in government and the limitations that are operative upon all officers, no matter how high. In the municipalities, in the Spanish days, what the friar did not control the presidente did, and the people knew and expected no limit to his exercise of authority. This is the difficulty we now encounter in the organization of the municipality. The presidente fails to observe the limitations upon his power, and the people are too submissive to press them.

“In this condition of affairs we have thought that we ought first to reduce the electorate to those who could be considered intelligent, and so the qualifications for voting fixed in the municipal code are that the voter shall either speak, read, and write English or Spanish, or that he shall have been formerly a municipal officer, or that he should pay a tax equal to \$15 a year or own property of the value of \$250.\* It has been proposed, and the commission will

---

\* In addition to these requirements, according to Order 82 of the Commission, voters must take an oath of allegiance to the United States.



probably adopt an amendment in accordance with the proposal, that the payment of a tax of more than \$15 as a license for a saloon shall not constitute a qualification. In fixing these qualifications we followed the recommendations of all the Filipinos whom we consulted, except that there were many of them who advocated a higher qualification. Many of the common people will be brought within these qualifications in one generation by the wide-spread system of education which is being inaugurated, and thus gradually the electorate will be enlarged. Meantime, it is necessary by practical lessons and actual experience to eliminate from the minds of the more intelligent part of the community who form the electorate those ideas of absolutism in government and to impress the conception of a limitation upon power which it is now so difficult for them to understand.

"In addition to the defect spoken of there is another. This is an absolute lack of any sense of responsibility on the part of a public officer to the public at large. Office has always been regarded as a source of private profit and a means of gratifying private desires, either hate or friendship. We have thought that by establishing a form of municipal government practically autonomous, with a limited electorate, and by subjecting its operations to the scrutiny and criticism of a provincial government in which the controlling element is American, we could gradually teach them the method of carrying on government according to American ideas. In the provincial government Filipinos are associated intimately with Americans, and in the central government the same thing is true. As the government proceeds this association in actual government will certainly form a nucleus of Filipinos, earnest, intelligent, patriotic, who will become familiar with practical, free government and civil liberty. This saving remnant will grow as the years go on and in it will be the hope of this people.

"How long, it is asked, must this education be continued before real results will be accomplished? Of course it is impossible to tell. Certainly a generation — perhaps two generations — will be needed, though a thorough system of public education, the introduction of railways and the inter-

communication of all sorts, and the rapid material development of the country, which is quite possible, would greatly assist in this instruction. The Filipino people are not a stupid people. They are bright and imitative. They are quick and anxious to learn and are ambitious. They lack in persistence and power of application, but we are by no means discouraged at the prospect of successfully fitting them for self-government. As it is now, however, the one fact which is clear above every other is that these people are not—either the small minority of educated people or the very large majority of ignorant people—prepared to establish a government which would hold together for any length of time, and which would not in a very short time present all the oppression and all the evils which were known in Spanish times.”

**(b) Form of Government Recommended.\***

“It is perhaps right that we should express our views as to the wisest course for Congress to take at the coming session. We think that if Congress were to give the present government the benefit of Congressional authority to continue under the limitations which it now has by virtue of the President’s instructions until January, 1904, this would probably give time enough to form a complete government as a going concern, and at the end of that time provisions might well be made for a change in the form of government, so that it should consist of a civil governor, of a legislative council, and of a popular assembly chosen by a limited electorate. There should be these limitations upon the power of the popular assembly, to wit, first, that it should sit annually for three months, from the 1st day of January to the 1st day of April, and then that its power of legislation should cease in each year unless summoned for a definite period in special session by the governor; secondly, if during the three months of its regular session it failed to vote the supplies necessary for the carrying on of the government as provided by law, the right to vote these supplies should be vested in the legislative council. The

---

\* Report of the Taft Commission for 1901, page 21.

governor should have the modified veto power. The legislative council, to consist of Americans and Filipinos, should be created by appointment of the President. The popular assembly should not exceed 30 in number, to be elected from districts to be determined after a census of the islands.

"We are aware that the power finally to withhold supplies is a most important legislative function, and that to modify it in the way suggested is not usual. But we think the modification very essential. A popular assembly elected by people never in the habit of exercising any political power at all, in a country which has been exposed to the passions of war for so many years, is certain to have in it many members lacking altogether in that sense of responsibility for the operation of the government which must be present in each legislative branch in order to make certain that the government may live, and we ought not deliberately to form a government containing in it one branch which might, because of its passion and inexperience, be led into choking the government itself.

"It will be observed that in respect to all other legislation except the voting of supplies this popular assembly would exercise the same power as any popular assembly in a similar government, and its vote would be indispensable to the passage of all laws but the budget. We believe that this system would satisfy the Filipino people, because it would give them an opportunity to take part in the government through an electorate, and it would form a place in which public discussion could be effectively had. Of course an absolute veto power, as in the case of the Territories, should be reserved to the President or Congress. What the Filipino people desire is a definite knowledge of the intention of Congress with respect to this country, and the passage of a law such as the one here indicated would place before them within a definite period the opportunity for that which they wish—a popular assembly. With definite knowledge of the time of its creation, they will be satisfied during the two years of the interval in which the government, but partly now established, may be rounded out and completed.

"We respectfully urge that Congress be requested to con-

firm the legislation of the commission already enacted and vest by Congressional act in the civil governor and commission and their successors by appointment of the President the powers and authority heretofore exercised by them under the instructions of the President and subsequent modifications thereof, with the limitations therein contained, and that provision be made in such legislation for the popular assembly already described, to begin its life January, 1904.

"We further recommend that by the act establishing the government above recommended provision be made for the selection after January, 1904, by a joint vote of the popular assembly and the executive council of two delegates to represent the interests of these islands and the Filipino people before Congress and the Executive at Washington. Their expenses and salaries should be paid from the insular treasury. This is something which the Filipino people have very much at heart. We believe that such representation would be useful both to these Islands and to the United States."

[In this connection it is interesting to note the form of government aspired to by the Federal Party (see platform of party quoted in "Progress of Pacification," page 67), which is in brief outline as follows: five representatives to the Congress in Washington; a House of Representatives elected by suffrage, in number proportional to the qualified electors of each province; a Senate one-half elected by the alcaldes of the town and the other half named by the Governor-General; a Governor-general named by the President of the United States, and Department and Provincial Governors named by the Governor-general, subject to approval by the government at Washington.]

## II. The Church Question.

### (a) Recommendation with Regard to Lands Claimed by the Religious Orders.\*

"The commission renews its recommendations of last year that it be given authority to issue bonds with which to buy up the agricultural holdings and other property of the religious orders. Now that peace is being restored and civil courts are exercising ordinary jurisdiction, the necessity for removing this firebrand from the important provinces of

\* Taft Report for 1901, page 24.

Cavite, Laguna, Rizal, Bulacan, and Bataan cannot be overstated. Under the military régime it was entirely possible by military order for military reasons to forbid the owners of these lands from attempting either to collect their rents or to oust their tenants; but now no such arbitrary remedy is available, and the only course which is feasible is the one suggested. The commission believes itself in a position to say that there is a willingness on the part of those who have control of this matter for the religious orders to negotiate and part with all the land to the government at a reasonable price. As it has already stated in its former report, the commission believes that the transfer of the property and its sale in small holdings to the present tenants, on long payments, might be effected without loss, and that this solution would be very satisfactory to all the people. The commission should be authorized, in case its view of the matter is approved, to issue bonds in an amount sufficient to buy the lands, and should be required to hold the proceeds of the sales of such lands as a sinking fund to meet the obligations of the bonds. We earnestly recommend this course. The matter is a pressing one, for the action of the courts in enforcing legal decrees in favor of the real owners of the land against the tenants will be a constant source of irritation, riot, and lawlessness in the provinces where the land is, and this will lead to distrust and uneasiness everywhere.

"The acreage, as stated in our last report, of the land owned by the friars in the provinces where the population is dense and the question is a heated one, is: Cavite, 121,747 acres; Laguna, 62,172 acres; Manila Province (now Rizal), 50,145 acres; Bulacan, 39,441 acres; Cebu, 16,413 acres; Morong (now Rizal), 4,940 acres; Bataan, 1,000 acres — upward of 300,000 acres. In addition to this there are something more than 100,000 acres, one-half in Isabela and one-half in Mindoro, in regions sparsely settled, the ownership of which by the friars does not involve so much popular resentment because of their remoteness."

[This recommendation, it will be remembered, agrees in the main with that made by the Schurmann Commission in 1900. The same

recommendation was made by the Taft Commission in its previous report and by Secretary Root in his report for 1901.

For further discussion of the question see the January number of the *Philippine Review*, page 88.]

### **(b) Conflict between Church and State.**

#### **The San José College Case.**

[The broad question as to the ownership and control of numerous educational institutions in the Philippines was brought before the commission by the San José College case. This case, the Taft Commission says, involves not only a construction of the Treaty of Paris and the effect upon public trusts of a transfer of sovereignty from a kingdom in which Church and State are inextricably fused to one in which they are entirely separate, but also the relation of the Spanish crown to the Roman Catholic Church.

The facts of this case are as follows : —]

Early in the year 1899, when General Otis began to turn his attention to public instruction in such parts of the Philippines as were then under United States jurisdiction, certain difficulties were encountered arising from the close connection between Church and State which had previously existed in the Philippines. Under the Spanish régime higher education had been entirely under the control of the religious orders, and all the college properties were claimed by the Church. Certain Spanish statesmen of advanced ideas had made great efforts to sever educational institutions from the Church, but without success. When General Otis assumed control, however, leading Filipinos in Manila at once demanded that such a separation be made. This demand was, of course, in accord with American constitutional principles and precedents, but on the other hand, the United States was bound by the treaty obligations to respect property rights. Accordingly, General Otis, who was somewhat baffled by the complexity of the situation confronting him, directed his military secretary, Colonel Crowder, to make a careful study and investigation of the whole question, but took no radical action, with a single exception, as follows : —

Certain representative Filipinos presented a petition to General Otis stating that the College of San José did not properly belong to the Church, but had been completely

under the control and administration of the Spanish government as a public institution, and passed by virtue of the Treaty of Paris to the United States government, which, standing as it did for a complete separation of the Church and State, should, in their opinion, maintain the administration of a school with purposes so entirely secular as that of the teaching of medicine, free from sectarian and monastic influences. In accordance with this petition, General Otis issued an order closing the College of San José until the dispute as to the ownership of the property could be decided.

In January, 1900, his Grace, Archbishop Chappelle, arrived in Manila, and shortly after his arrival wrote to General Otis complaining of his action in regard to the College of San José. General Otis replied that, since many of the property holdings of the friars were held as trusts for charitable purposes, and since the United States courts held that the State as *parens patriæ* could exercise control wherever the rightful administration of trust properties was called in question, and since the administration of these properties was called in question by the Filipinos, the property claimed by the friars throughout the archipelago, including the College of San José in Manila, "became matter for a legitimate official inquiry and determination" by the United States authorities.

In July, 1900, the Rector of Santo Tomas petitioned General MacArthur (who had then succeeded General Otis), to reopen the College of San José as a part of the University of Santo Tomas, which was being conducted by the Catholic Church. This petition was vigorously resisted by prominent citizens of Manila, who claimed that the college was and ought to be the property of the Philippine people, and being a State institution, must be kept separate from the Church. General MacArthur and the members of the Taft Commission who had just arrived in the Islands, realizing that the San José case involved an important issue and would constitute a widely used precedent, decided to delay their decision until hearings could be arranged before the commission, at which the case could be argued.

The hearings began in July, 1900, and continued until late in October. Very great public interest was shown in the elaborate arguments made on behalf of the Filipino people by Señor Don Felipe Calderon, and on behalf of the Catholic Church which claimed control of the property by Archbishop Chapelle, apostolic delegate, and by Archbishop Nozaleda, of Manila.

The question at issue was this :

Was the College of San José a civil and secular institution, the control of and the obligation to manage which passed to the United States by the Treaty of Paris ?

Or was it a Catholic college for sectarian and charitable purposes, subject to the ultimate control of the Church ?

#### **Agreed Statement of Facts.**

In 1605, Rodriguez de Figueroa, Governor of the Philippine Islands, died, and by his will left a fund to build a school for boys in Manila. The Jesuits were to provide teachers, and the Father Provincial was to be rector, having power to regulate admissions, arrange the curriculum and manage the property. He was also to have the absolute disposition of any surplus income, for the benefit of the college, for the Jesuit Society, or for any other pious work. The Jesuits took possession according to the terms of the will, and in 1608 received from the King of Spain the necessary license, which was confirmed by the Bishop. In 1722 the King, on petition of the Jesuits, took the College under his protection. The Jesuits were expelled from the Islands in 1768; their property was confiscated to the Crown, and with it the College of San José. Against this the Bishop protested, and on the Governor's turning the College over to him, he converted it into a religious seminary. The King disapproved both the action of the Governor and Bishop, on the ground that the Jesuits had no interest in the property, except for administrative purposes, and the Canonical of the Metropolitan Cathedral was appointed rector. From this time to 1879 this position was always held by an ecclesiastic, who, however, reported annually to the Governor. In 1870, by royal decree, following the



report of a commission that this was within the terms of the will, the College was united with other schools into the Philippine Institute, a civil and secular institution. This decree was never enforced; and in 1875 by a new decree, the college was practically incorporated into the University of Santo-Tomas, as a medical school.

**Argument for the Church.**

1. Being founded from charitable and pious motives and by license of the Bishop, the College of San José is an ecclesiastical, pious work; and all such are subject to the ultimate control of the Church.

2. The King's authority to take the College under his protection in 1722 and to provide a rector in 1768 was conferred upon him by papal bull, and he simply acted as an agent on behalf of the Church.

3. The decree of 1870 was never enforced, and the decree of 1875 only so far as was consistent with ecclesiastical ownership.

4. To convert the College into a civil and non-sectarian government institution would be a breach of trust, and a violation of the Treaty of Paris which bound the United States to respect contract obligations.

**Argument for the Complainant.**

1. The foundation of the College was a mere private, secular charity, and the so-called license of the Bishop was a mere personal permission to a priest appointed for his personal qualifications.

2. The appointment by the King of a new rector, on the expulsion of the Jesuits, was an assertion of his right to control as against the Bishop.

3. The decree of 1875 shows that the Church authorities did not regard this as an ecclesiastical charity, and that they conceded the right of the King to act without consulting them.

4. The control of the College exercised by the King was not under the papal bulls, because these did not confer such powers.

5. This is not a breach of contract obligation, because the Church has no rights which are being infringed,

### **Opinion.**

After a full hearing of the case, the Commission declined to decide the questions of law involved, on the ground that it was a legislative, and not a judicial body. A form of procedure was, however, prescribed by which the whole question might be brought promptly before the Supreme Court of the Islands. The Commission also appointed trustees to prosecute the suit, and appropriated money to defray expenses, on the ground that the United States occupied the relation of general trustee towards the people of the Philippines. Furthermore, the possibility of an appeal to some United States court was recommended. Upon this point the Commission states: \* —

“It seems to us that such an appeal ought to be provided for. The importance of the cause may be understood from the opinion of the commission in disposing of it, reported in the second quarter’s volume of the commission laws. The suit has been brought and is now pending before the Supreme Court, and will be heard within the next three months.

“As stated in our former report, there are other controversies likely to be brought into the courts of the islands between the Catholic Church and the insular government in respect to the title to and the administration of trust or other property. The intimate association between the Spanish Government and the Catholic Church and the difficulty of separating what is civil and what is church property is so great and presents questions of such delicacy from a political standpoint that we recommend that in all such cases an appeal be granted from the supreme court of the islands to the Supreme Court of the United States.”

---

\* Taft Report for 1901, page 26.

### III. The Public Lands.

#### (a) Recommendations for Modification of the Spooner Amendment.

[The Spooner Amendment provided that "no sale, lease or other disposition be made of the public lands of the timber thereon, or the mining rights therein." For a discussion of some of the difficulties which have arisen under this amendment, see the January number of the *Philippine Review*, page 81. In this connection the Taft Commission makes the following recommendation: \*—]

"In the development of these islands it is essential that opportunity shall be afforded for the sale and settlement of the enormous tracts of public lands. The system of public land surveys provided by the statutes of the United States might well be carried out here, though of course it would be years before they could be completed. Meantime provision should be made for homestead disposition and public auction sale of the lands, with a provision for a preliminary survey at the expense of the applicant, the land obtained to be held subject to reconfirmation on the completion of the official survey. Homestead entries of course, should be for limited amounts; but, in order to encourage investments of capital and the introduction of modern methods of agriculture, we think public auction sales of comparatively large tracts should be authorized upon proper conditions and at not less than fixed minimum prices. The islands of Mindanao, Paragua and Mindoro are almost wholly undeveloped, and will remain so until capitalists are offered an inducement to go there and make large investments.

"Persons in possession of land and actually cultivating the same for a number of years ought to be given an opportunity to perfect their titles. The difficulties likely to attend the disposition of the public domain in these islands are set forth in a paper prepared by our commissioner of public lands, Mr. William M. Tipton. He has been in the Philippines only about two months; but he has had eighteen years experience in the office of the surveyor-general of public lands in New Mexico, and some eight or nine years' experience

\* Taft Report for 1901, page 29.

as an assistant in the office of the United States attorney in the Court of Private Land Claims. He shows clearly the necessity for the establishment of a court of private land claims here, for conditions are not very different from those obtaining in New Mexico. In another paper he states in a summary way, the provisions by law for the alienation and acquisition of public lands under the Spanish dominion in the Philippines. The two papers are attached hereto as Appendices F and G.

[Omitted in this number of the *Review*.]

“We recommend that the commission be authorized to enact a public land law, with such limitations as to quantities, prices, and conditions of purchase as to Congress may seem wise. In the last years of Spanish rule provision was made by law for turning over to each pueblo a common from the public lands. It is understood that no such commons have been surveyed or taken possession of; but at several places in our provincial journeys questions were asked as to whether the American Government intended to fulfil the Spanish promise in this regard. In any general authority conferred upon the commission in regard to disposition of public lands, it is suggested that power be given to grant commons to each town from the public domain.”

#### **(b) Timber Lands.\***

“There are vast Government timber lands in these islands, variously estimated at from twenty to forty millions of acres. The lumber industry, as conducted up to the present time, has never made the slightest impression on them. More timber grows every year than it is at all possible to cut for lumber under existing conditions. That no destruction of the forests by lumbermen is occurring is shown by the fact that but 1,955,561 cubic feet of firewood and 2,469,930 cubic feet of timber (equal to 29,639,160 feet board measure) were cut during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901. The forests produce valuable woods for every conceivable purpose, but with the general lack of skilled woodsmen to fell the trees,

\* Taft Report for 1901, page 40.

of draught animals to drag them to the saw-mills, and even of the mills themselves, the price of timber has been and is remarkably high when one considers its abundance and proximity to the market. In Masbate, in the island of Sibuyan, and in many other provinces or islands there are large numbers of woodsmen who would be threatened with starvation should their one means of livelihood be taken from them. War has destroyed hundreds of public buildings and thousands of private homes. Within the past five years many bridges have been swept away by floods or have been burned, and few of them have as yet been rebuilt. The necessity for timber has never been so great here as it is to-day, and it is of the utmost importance that all unreasonable restrictions upon its cutting and marketing should be removed. We are constantly in receipt of communications from municipalities asking for entire exemption for a period of years from the payment of charges on timber from Government lands. We do not consider such sweeping exemptions advisable, because a law can be devised which will exempt the man who cannot afford to pay for the timber and firewood he must have and will reach the man who can afford to pay. We do feel strongly, however, that the reasonable and legitimate development of the forests of the State, on terms advantageous to the Government, should be authorized."

### **Debate on the Philippine Tariff Bill in the House of Representatives.**

The bill "temporarily to provide a revenue for the Philippine Islands and for other purposes," \* first came up for discussion in the House December 17. It was unanimously agreed that the debate on the question should be confined to two days.

The discussion was opened by Mr. Payne of New York who had introduced the bill. He advocated it on the ground, first, that some revenue bill had been rendered necessary by the Supreme Court decisions; and second, that it was reasonable to suppose that the Taft Commission, aided as it had been by the War Department and the business men of the United States, had enacted the best possible revenue bill, and therefore Congress could not do better than to re-enact it. Mr. Payne admitted that internal taxation would be more in keeping with American ideas, but pointed out the fact that, since under the Spooner Amendment less than 5,000,000 acres of land could be taxed, no land tax would be sufficient to support the insular government. He dwelt upon the beneficent work of the Taft Commission, and, in reply to an objection that this bill imposed a double tax upon the Filipinos, called attention to the fact that all money so raised is to be paid into the Philippine treasury.

---

\* This bill, which is known as the Payne Bill provides:—

1. That the United States Philippine Commission tariff (which went into effect November 15, 1901) shall remain in effect.
2. That the Dingley tariff rates shall be collected on all goods coming into the United States from the Philippine Archipelago.
3. That the same tonnage taxes shall be collected on vessels coming into the United States from the Philippines as from foreign countries, except that, until January 1, 1905, the provisions regulating the United States coasting trade shall not apply to foreign vessels plying between the Islands and the United States.
4. That the duties collected under the act in the Islands and in the United States shall be paid into the Philippine treasury for the expenses of the Islands.
5. Relates to the method of ascertaining the amount of duty due.
6. That articles intended for export from the United States to the Philippine Islands, but subject under existing law to internal revenue taxes, shall be exempt from such taxes, and shall be charged the duties imposed by this act.

The first speech of the opposition, made by Mr. Swanson of Virginia, objected to the whole policy of colonial conquest pursued by the Republican party. If one needed an illustration of the inconsistencies which must mark the course of a republic holding colonies, ample illustration was furnished by the Supreme Court decisions, which were irreconcilable and contradictory to the last degree, and were in fact an amendment, and not an interpretation of the Constitution. Mr. Swanson cited the following figures to show the unfairness of the bill : —

American tobacco could be sold in the	
Philippines upon payment of a duty of .	\$0.22 a pound
Philippine tobacco could be sold in the	
United States upon payment of a duty of	1.85 a pound
American hemp in Philippines, . . . . .	11.00 per ton
Philippine hemp in the United States, . . . . .	20.00 per ton
American sugar in Philippines, . . . . .	17.00 per ton
Philippine sugar in the United States, . . . . .	36.00 per ton
American iron in Philippines, . . . . .	.25 per ton
Philippine iron in the United States, . . . . .	.67 per ton

Mr. Swanson concluded his argument by dwelling upon the imprudence of the bill, which would surely lead to discontent, since it did not treat the Philippine Islands as well as Porto Rico and Hawaii. The argument of the opposition was continued by Mr. Thayer of Massachusetts, who maintained that the Philippines were a bad bargain commercially and should be disposed of as soon as possible.

Mr. Grosvenor of Ohio then took up the arguments in favor of the bill, dwelling chiefly upon the necessity of raising a revenue, and complaining that the Democrats in opposing the bill then before the House, had no remedy to suggest. In reply to the statement that the Supreme Court decisions were unconstitutional, Mr. Grosvenor said that it was penned in blood in 1861-65 that the Constitution did not of its own force extend to the territories. In reply to Mr. Thayer's argument that the Philippines were a poor investment, Mr. Grosvenor said that governments are not framed upon a question of 3 or 4 per cent., but upon some-

thing higher. The Democrats, he said, would surely not advocate taking away schools and railroads from the Filipinos, nor would they advocate letting in Philippine products free, to the ruin of the Southern States. Then what did they advocate?

Mr. De Armond of Missouri next objected that the Congress in its Philippine legislation was abdicating its high rights and duties confirmed by the Federal Constitution. In answer to a reminder that it was the Democrats who brought on the Spanish War, Mr. De Armond said that the acquisition of the Philippines was not an inevitable outcome of the war, as the Republicans claimed. He said that the question was not, shall this or that bill be passed, but should the Philippines be retained? and time should be allowed for a discussion of that broad question.

Mr. Patterson of Tennessee, continuing the opposition, argued against high tariffs in general, and stated that the bill then before the House was more prohibitory than that of any other enlightened colony-holding nation in the world. If the United States must hold the Philippines, then give them free trade. If that was impossible, then give the Filipinos a say as to what goods should be dutiable and what the duties should be. If that was impossible, then at least give the Filipinos a right to say how the revenue should be expended. He reminded the Republicans that the War of the Revolution had grown out of just such despotism as the United States was now showing.

Mr. Robertson of Louisiana, a Democrat favoring the bill, argued as follows: A revenue was plainly necessary. Plainly, Congress had the power to enact a tariff bill for the Philippines. Any one in favor of giving the Filipinos their independence must favor this bill, for to fail to pass it was to put the Philippines on the same footing as the territories; while to pass it was to serve notice for the Filipinos that they would never be a part of the United States and must therefore prepare for independence. Moreover, if the bill failed to pass, United States products would be injured.

Mr. McCall of Massachusetts, a Republican opposing the bill, spoke on the second day of the debate. He stated that, although the Supreme Court had pronounced



the bill constitutional, he himself was unable to vote to exercise a power which he believed on his oath Congress did not possess. He quoted Abraham Lincoln who said of the Dred Scott decision that, although it was final in regard to the particular case of Dred Scott, yet he himself refused to obey it as a political rule.

Mr. McCall said, if one lacked arguments against the retention of the Philippines, one had but to turn to the history of the past four years, which had witnessed the "solemn farce of four or five very estimable American gentlemen sitting as a legislature over ten millions of people whose language, customs, conditions and existence they were probably ignorant of four years ago"; had witnessed the spectacle of an American army of 70,000 men engaged in conquering a people on the other side of the globe struggling for independence; had seen the Supreme Court of a nation (founded as a protest against the power of one people to tax another) open the way for an autocratic government and the exploitation of a subject people; had denied the Monroe doctrine, multiplied the standing army threefold, and raised the expense of our military establishment until it approached that of the most army-ridden nations of Europe. Even if the Philippines were to bring us the wealth of the Indies, did we want to overthrow our republican institutions?

Mr. McCall concluded his speech as follows:—

"Sir, if we must legislate for those Islands, it does not comport with my ideas of justice or humanity that we should begin by making all their ports and shores to bristle with tariffs against the world, denying them even any community of trade with their new master, while we rudely snap the ties that bind them to the old. Give them by statute at least something of that which within one of a majority of the justices of the Supreme Court decided was theirs to demand as of right under the organic laws of this nation."

In its main lines the debate of the second day resembled that of the first. In closing, it was moved by the opposition that the bill be recommitted with instructions to report a measure promising independence to the Filipinos. This motion failed, and the bill passed the House December 18, by 166 yeas to 128 nays.

## WASHINGTON LETTER.

*By Staff Correspondent.*

Two bills to provide for a perfected system of civil government for the Philippine Islands are now before Congress. The one introduced by Senator Lodge, chairman of the Philippine Committee, represents the views of the War Department. It embodies the results of the studies and investigations set on foot by Secretary Root and the insular bureau, and it is in large part drawn up by the department officials themselves. It is an elaborate affair, containing one hundred and eleven sections and covering sixty-three pages. Its passage, with as slight change as possible, will be the endeavor of the administration forces from this time forth; and hence a study of its provisions is now the most important Philippine topic in Washington.

The other bill, introduced by Chairman Cooper of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, derives many of its sections from the War Department studies and the Taft report. Some of its passages are practically identical with those of the Lodge bill. But where Mr. Cooper differs chiefly is in his definite provision for the creation of a legislative assembly in the Philippines on January 1, 1904, and the provision that the Filipino government should then be given delegates in Washington. The War Department officials believe it unwise to promise something so long in advance, and when so little can be known of the feasibility of the project at the time named. They say that a promissory note of this character might have most unfortunate effects in case it were found necessary to default in its payment, and that it would be better for the administration to make up its own mind merely to do something of that kind by 1904, than to say so in legislative enactment. Mr. Cooper replies to this by saying that "such a provision would have an immediate effect upon the minds of the Filipino people, especially upon those of the educated and intelligent, and, in the language of the commission, would satisfy their desire for definite knowledge of the intention of Congress with respect to their country."

Secretary Root also objects to the Cooper bill because of its division of responsibilities among Washington officials. Evidently drafted with the Alaskan code as a model, the Cooper bill provides that the Governor of the Philippines shall report to the Secretary of State, the Auditor to the Treasury Department, the Commissioner of the Interior to the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Education of the Philippines to the Commissioner of Education in Washington (who now happens to be Dr. William T. Harris) and so on. It is easy to see the idea back of Mr. Cooper's plan of government. His aim is a more thorough welding of the Philippine government with that of the United States, and less of that hiatus between home and colonial administrations which characterizes the imperialistic powers. Mr. Cooper is not himself a strong imperialist, and he evidently desires to work out a more "American" system of administering the new insular possessions than that proposed by the War Department. Secretary Root maintains that such a scattering of power and responsibility would be most unfortunate. His friends point out that the Porto Rican bill was drawn on somewhat similar lines, and that as a result nobody can tell to what bureau in Washington to go to find anything about Porto Rico. It is usually necessary to write to the island direct to learn anything.

The Lodge, or War Department bill, really provides for an amplification of the existing Philippine government, with such provisions as to lands, franchises, mining, currency, banking, and forestry as will permit a normal development of the Islands. Its section relating to the purchase of lands of the religious orders is likely to attract much attention. It authorizes the government of the Philippines to acquire real estate for public uses by the exercise of the right of eminent domain. This power may be applied to any lands which were owned on August 13, 1898, by religious corporations or orders, or by private individuals, in such large tracts as, in the opinion of the commission, to affect injuriously the welfare of the people. To provide funds for acquiring these lands, the government is empowered to issue bonds in denominations of fifty dollars and multiples thereof, bearing inter-

est at a rate not exceeding four per cent. These bonds will be exempt from all taxes or duties both there and here, and may be received by the Comptroller of the Currency as security for circulating notes issued under authority of the national bank act as amended by this bill.

All lands acquired by virtue of this enactment will be the public property of the government of the Islands, and may be sold or leased on such terms as it may prescribe, provided that the purchasers pay as much as the government paid for the land and in cases of deferred payment pay as much interest as that borne by the bonds. Actual settlers are to have preference over everybody else. The United States would thus act as a great real estate agent in transferring land from large holdings to small ones for actual settlers.

The opening for investment of the redundant capital of the United States, which has formed so large a part of the arguments of many advocates of the expansion policy, notably Charles A. Conant, seem in a measure to be realized, not only by the plan just recited, but by the provisions for the issue of municipal bonds for public improvements. The government of the Philippine Islands, under certain limitations, and with the approval of the President, may permit any municipality to borrow money for public improvements. The general terms of these issues are similar to those for the acquisition of the friar lands. The city of Manila is specifically authorized to borrow four million dollars of United States money for needed improvements in drainage, sewerage, and water supply.

The section relating to franchises suggests how much easier it is to do a thing right, in making a fresh start, than it is to reform existing systems. All franchises granted under this act, to quote its language, shall forbid the issue of stocks or bonds except in exchange for actual cash or for property at a fair valuation, equal to the par value of stock or bonds so issued; shall forbid the declaring of stock or bond dividends; and, in the case of public service corporations, shall provide for the effective regulation of the charges thereof, for the official inspection of the books and accounts of such corporations, and for the payment of a reasonable

percentage of gross earnings or net profits into the treasury of the Philippine Islands or of the province or municipality within which such franchises are granted and exercised. No corporation for real estate speculation is permitted, and none engaged in agriculture shall control more than five thousand acres of land.

---

It looks as if the Philippine tariff bill would emerge from the Conference Committee with the present Taft tariff applying to imports into the Islands from all countries, without discrimination, while on Philippine goods coming to the United States there will be some reduction of Dingley rates. Probably this will specifically offset the export duties levied on certain Philippine products, and in addition permit a flat reduction of duties to 25 per cent. While it is an extremely liberal policy on our part to remit duties in one direction without any corresponding reduction on the other, the fact should not be lost sight of, in estimating the gains and losses of an expansion policy, that this plan, if adhered to, would entail a considerable reduction in our revenue, and from protective standards a considerable national loss. How much, for example, would either France or Germany pay in a lump sum to be granted access to our markets at a 25 per cent. reduction of regular tariff rates, without any reciprocal concession in its own tariff? To the extent that trade will here follow the flag, the United States government will be paying something for that result. Whether the United States will ever think it wise to demand reciprocal advantages in the Philippines remains to be seen. The administration is strongly committed to the open door policy, and could not afford seemingly to divert its international influence from that policy for the sake of a preference in our small Philippine trade.

---

The Philippine legislative proposal perhaps ranking next in importance is that embodied in the resolution introduced by Senator Hoar for the appointment of a committee of seven senators to investigate Philippine questions, and particularly the conduct of war. Everybody recognizes a dearth of real

information of Philippine affairs, in spite of the maze of reports and the mass of testimony. To clear up something of the mystery is Senator Hoar's aim. Unhappily, there is little prospect that it will be seriously considered. Public opinion does not demand of the dominant party that it should bring out the skeleton from its closet to public view and for the enhancement of its opponent's chances of success. Nothing less than an extreme public demand would compel the dominant party to adopt any such programme.

The Congressional mind is not greatly aroused over the Philippine question, nor, for that matter, over any other question. So many topics constantly press for attention that few Congressmen really know much about the great questions until forced to study them. There is a great popular misconception on this point. The "enterprising journalist" who writes so glibly of the "feeling in Washington" on every topic that arises is criticised when it is known that he draws this "feeling" from the inspiration of his own intuitions; but this criticism is unjust if the reading public insists upon knowing the "feeling in Washington." On topic after topic the search for real opinion and real conclusions among senators and representatives is most fruitless. Not until press and public have opened the discussion and suggested the texts do the Congressional opinions come to light. The chief concern of the member of Congress is in the needs of his own district, or State, if he be a Senator. A large part of this concern, of course, is over patronage. Next to this comes his committee work and the topics which that suggests. For the men who are not on Philippine committees, few have anything to say more than that they trust each committee on the subjects assigned to it, and that, above all, they must not disturb the harmony and coherence of the party organization. As a result, little that is surprising or sensational in regard to the Philippines would be expected from Congress this winter. The public will have to awaken first.

Frederick Palmer, who has recently travelled around the world, makes in *Collier's Weekly* an extremely important suggestion regarding the Philippines. He says: "We get

very little except official news from the Islands now. Probably the absence of public interest does not warrant the newspapers' giving more. Most of the correspondents who still remain, I hear, are now in the employ of the civil government."

Without being able to vouch for the truth of his suggestion that most of the sources of American information regarding the Philippines are either official or subsidized, one does not have to be unduly pessimistic to express no surprise if that should prove the case. Washington is very much nearer the American newspaper reader than Manila, and yet a large part of the information which goes out from here is in effect subsidized. Great newspapers do not seem to think it amiss to have their representatives on official pay-rolls or under personal or pecuniary obligations to great party leaders. The public has apparently not awakened to any sense of impropriety in this sort of thing, and so States and sections are in many instances supplied with information which is regularly misleading. If the information from the Philippines is correspondingly colored, it would not be out of keeping with present tendencies of American journalism.

## CURRENT PHILIPPINE LITERATURE.

---

### IMPORTANT MAGAZINE ARTICLES ON THE PHILIPPINES PUBLISHED DURING JANUARY.

FILIPINO VIEWS OF AMERICAN RULE. By Pardo de Tavera, Benito Lagarda, and José Luzuriaga, native members of the Philippine Commission.— *The North American Review* for January, 1902.

The editorial introduction to this article states that the following four questions were asked the Filipino members of the Commission:—

1. Has the presence of the United States in the Philippine Islands resulted in the improvement of the political and economic conditions as compared with those existing under Spanish rule?
2. What good results have followed the presence of the United States in the Islands?
3. What ought the United States to do in the Islands to promote the commercial progress of the people of the Philippines?
4. What form of government ought to be established in the Islands by the Congress of the United States?

The first portion of the article is written by Dr. Tavera. In answer to the first two questions, he states emphatically that the principal benefit incident upon United States occupation of the Philippines is the separation of Church and State. Further, he states that, whereas Spain ruled the Philippines from Madrid, America rules through the Commission "which can hear the voice of the people." The municipal organizations and the principle of separating judicial, legislative, and executive powers (so new to the Filipinos) are instanced as further benefits. The law of habeas corpus, the power of assembly, freedom of speech and of the press,\* abolition of obligatory military service, abolition of banishment, imprisonment, and military executions on account of political beliefs, are all good results following American rule, as well as the increased economic life and the strict accounting system. On the other hand, he says, the war has impoverished the country.

In answer to the third question Dr. Tavera says that commerce and agriculture would be greatly stimulated by the creation of trust companies and mortgage banks with branches in the provinces. Moreover, he says, it would be beneficial if Filipino products could enter the United States free of duty. It is a mistake, he thinks, to hasten the imposition of direct taxes.

With regard to the last question he says that he, in common with the other supporters of the Federal Party, aspires to statehood in the American Union, and hopes that gradually, in accordance with the "capacity and situation" of the Filipinos, this goal may be approached by the

---

\* Apparently this was written before the promulgation of Section 10 of the Treason Laws. See page 136 above.



United States Government. For the present he believes that Congress should approve the provisional government, giving a territorial government in two or three years. The Filipinos, he says, desire a Chamber of Representatives; but this would probably not be practicable until the Islands are completely pacified. To-day he thinks full satisfaction would be given if two representatives could be sent to Washington, chosen by the vote of Filipino commissioners who should be elected from each province.

Benito Lagarda, who writes the second portion of the article, cites as the chief benefits under American rule, the autonomy enjoyed by pueblos, individual rights, and the value which necessarily pertains to all rights guaranteed by a strong and stable government. These advantages, he says, many of the Filipinos cannot appreciate owing to their desperate condition, resulting from the ravages of war.

The present needs of Philippine commerce and industry, he thinks, are completely satisfied by the customs tariff recently enacted. Mortgage loan banks are needed, he says. Property titles should be guaranteed, and public improvements should be made possible. The sale and development of public lands should be facilitated, so that American farmers could come in to teach Filipino farmers, and agricultural stations similar to those in the United States should be established. The regulation of mining concessions, he says, would enable the Filipinos to free themselves from large importations of coal and other minerals.

With regard to the form of government which the Congress of the United States ought to establish in the Islands, Lagarda says there are arguments in favor of a more autonomous government than that at present existing; but there are equally weighty arguments in favor of waiting two years before more autonomy is granted. "Sudden changes," he says, "are seldom beneficial," and "a gradual development is always more advantageous." The hope of the Filipino people, he believes, will be a legislative Chamber of Representatives elected by limited and restricted suffrage, whose acts might be set aside by the executive government when necessary for the common good. Also, he says, there should be a delegation of several members, elected from the Chamber of Representatives, to represent it "in an informative character in the Congress at Washington." This form of government, however, will be possible only when all hostilities have ceased.

The last and most interesting portion of the article is written by José Luzuriaga, who calls attention to the fact that, while the economic situation has improved in Manila and the other large cities of the archipelago, the country as a whole is not in a prosperous condition. True, he says, the imports of Manila have increased, and real estate and rentals have increased in value there; but it must be borne in mind, on the other hand, that "agriculture has suffered a mortal blow in all of those provinces where the war was actively carried on and that little by little production has been falling off every year, until to-day it is at its minimum, not only because of the war, but also on account of the rav-

ages of the locust and the rinderpest, which have practically paralyzed it. The plantations, farms and cultivated lands do not now produce enough for local consumption, indeed, they fall far short of the requirements of the inhabitants. This anomalous situation has resulted in an adverse trade balance so ruinous to the Filipinos that they have been compelled to pay with their savings for the value of imported merchandise consumed for the past three years."

The advantages gained by American rule have been, he says, civil government of the pueblos, and the administration of justice, which has been speedy and upright.

In answer to the third question, Luzuriaga says that commerce must be placed under strong protection, and that mortgage banks are needed; for it is absolutely essential that the agricultural condition of the country should be relieved from the effects of a "Titanic struggle with the evils of war and the ravages of the locust and the rinderpest."

In answer to the last question, Commissioner Luzuriaga says that, taking into account the aspirations of the majority of men interested in the future of the Islands, he thinks it might be well to establish a form of government similar to that of Hawaii and Porto Rico. This will not be possible, he says, until the Islands are pacified; and he thinks the existing government should not be changed while hostilities continue. When the public mind is less perturbed, he believes that a Chamber of Representatives should be organized, with the civil commission acting as counsel of government to the governor, who should have the executive power. "Such a form of government," he says, "will, I believe satisfy the Filipinos until such time as they are capable to form as a Territory and part of the Great Republic of the United States."

THE PHILIPPINES AND OUR MILITARY POWER. By John F. Shafroth.—*The Forum* for January, 1902.

This brief article is an enlargement and explanation of the saying, "Now is Spain avenged." The Philippines have already cost us, the author says, more than \$300,000,000, and by their acquisition we have increased our vulnerability, and to hold them, a permanent army of 30,000 men will be needed, costing \$45,000,000 per annum. Moreover, the government expends about \$3,000,000 for the building of each new battleship. These military and naval expenditures, he says, must come from our national treasury. The Philippines are supposed to be of great strategic value in view of the situation in China; but our interest is identical with theirs,—namely, the preservation of the integrity of the Chinese empire. Even if it were otherwise, why keep an army 1,500 miles from the possible scene of action, with very limited transport service?

If we hold the Philippines, Mr. Shafroth believes we shall relinquish concentration for diffusion, shall exchange land power, for which we have peculiar advantages, for sea power, for which we have no peculiar advantages; and shall involve ourselves in taxation which will cripple many of our industries and make them incapable of competing with the markets of the world.

## SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS.

*From December 23 to January 23.*

December 23.—General George W. Davis, commanding at Zamboanga, island of Mindanao, has requested that the province of Misamis, Mindanao, again be placed under military control. General Davis has proof that the recently-elected presidente and vice-councillors and the leading men of Cagayan de Misamis are guilty of treason in furnishing ammunition to the insurgents within the past month. General James F. Wade, commanding the American forces on Cebu Island, concurs, and indorses the request of General Davis, and is satisfied that the ends of justice, peace, and good government will soonest be obtained by the restoration of military control. It is expected that the United States Philippine Commission will refuse this request, as they did a similar application made by General Chaffee concerning the province of Tayabas, Luzon.

Captain John S. Parks, Jr., with thirty men of the Twenty-first Infantry, encountered insurgents in Laguna province. Four of the enemy were killed, several guns were captured, and their barracks destroyed.

General Bell, in command of Batangas province, has praised Lieutenant Tilford, who surprised and routed an insurgent force in a stronghold on top of a hill. Nineteen insurgents were killed.

A detachment of scouts of the Second Infantry also had a small engagement with the insurgents, killing nine and capturing four.

Lieutenant Hartman, of the First Cavalry, during an expedition which lasted several days, encountered the enemy six times without losing a man. He destroyed several barracks.

General Chaffee says he considers conditions in the Philippines to be hopeful, and that by the end of February all the turbulent provinces will have been pacified except Samar. There the situation demands a policy of rigid starvation, and the giving of food only to those who surrender or stay in the towns.

The closing of the ports in Laguna and Batangas provinces in Luzon has had a most salutary effect, as the measure has resulted in touching the pockets of the Manila Filipinos who have been aiding the insurgents. They are now anxious for peace, and will co-operate with the American forces.

December 25.—The Filipino General Samson and all the other insurgent chiefs on the island of Bohol have surrendered, with 28 cannon and 45 guns. During an engagement in Batangas province one American private was badly wounded, while a number of the enemy were killed.

The military prison at Subig Bay has been re-established. A large number of Filipinos captured in Laguna and Batangas provinces have been sent there. Colonel Dougherty is making a clean sweep of Laguna province, burning all insurgent barracks and a number of small native hamlets; and the insurgent loss of life has been heavy.

Governor Taft sails for the States.

December 31.—There were memorial services and a procession at Manila, yesterday, in honor of José Rizal, the Filipino leader. The services were celebrated on the Luneta, where Rizal was executed by the Spaniards, December 30, 1896. The manifestation was chiefly remarkable for the intense hatred displayed toward the friars.

Generals Chaffee and Wheaton have gone to Batangas to make a personal investigation of affairs in that province, and to confer with General Bell. They will return to Manila to-day.

January 2.—Lieutenant Rhodes and two orderlies surprised 20 insurgents in a barracks, and drove them out and burned the barracks.

General Wheaton's report from the island of Samar indicates that little has been accomplished there. The attitude of the natives is even more unfriendly than ever before. General Chaffee probably will visit the island to investigate personally. In Batangas province the campaign against the insurgents is progressing favorably, and speedy results are anticipated.

January 6.—General Bell is conducting a vigorous campaign in Batangas province. Every available soldier is in the field. The columns under Colonels Wint and Dougherty are driving the Filipinos in all directions. A number of the latter are fleeing from Tayabas province, where the native constabulary are rendering valuable assistance in capturing men and rifles. Advocates of peace at Manila deprecate the stern measures employed by General Bell. He replies that these peace advocates have had numerous opportunities to use their influence, as they have been freely given passes through the American lines, and that it has been afterward proved that they often only went through the lines for the purpose of assisting the insurrection. General Bell says that the best peace method now is a rigorous warfare until the insurrection is completely subdued. The arrest of members of the wealthy Lopez family, and the confiscation of their steamers and rice, and also the arrest of three members of religious corporations who were known to be instigators of the insurrection, has had an excellent effect upon the natives.

Conditions in the island of Samar are still unsatisfactory, owing to the difficulty of finding the insurgents. Captain Schoeffel of the 9th Infantry, who was wounded last month, has practically recovered. In an official report of the encounter it is said that Captain Schoeffel killed three men before he received his wound, and that the remnants of the detachment of eighteen men with him were saved by his personal courage and daring.

Civil authorities say that the island of Leyte is now perfectly peaceful. On the other hand, the military authorities consider Leyte to be dangerous on account of its proximity to Samar, if for no other reason. Last Friday Major Myer captured quite an extensive arsenal and plant for the making of cartridges, on the north-west coast of Leyte, also another powder factory, large quantities of ammunition, four cannon, and several rifles. Major Allen, ex-governor of Leyte, reports that the majority of

the signal-corps wires had been cut, and that this action was evidently preconcerted.

Captain Pitcher reports that he is rapidly ridding the island of Mindoro of insurgents.

The constabulary of Tarlac, Luzon, have captured a number of members of the Filipino secret society called the "Guardia de Honor." The prisoners intended moving to an island off the east coast of Luzon, where they expected to be free of American interference, temporarily at least, and where they had decided to resist American invasion to the uttermost. Twenty of the prisoners are charged with sedition.

January 13.—The expedition to Loboo in Batangas has been a complete success. The columns under Colonels Wint and Wells have destroyed a large number of barracks and hamlets and enough rations to keep twenty thousand Filipinos for six months. There was not an American casualty during the entire expedition. The enemy fled before the Americans. Many of them were killed, and several surrendered.

Major Allen, ex-governor of Leyte, now chief of the insular constabulary, has been making a tour of inspection through Leyte and Mindanao, and reports that the native constabulary is fully able to control the situation in the province of Misamis, in Northern Mindanao, where he thinks the situation has been much exaggerated. Generals Davis and Wade had requested that it be returned to military control.

January 15.—The full surrender of the forces of Colonel Marisigan occurred Monday at Taal. General Bell says surrender pacifies, for the time being, all the eastern part of Batangas.

January, 17.—General Chaffee will leave Manila for the island of Samar, to-morrow; and will investigate the situation thoroughly, as it is desired to stamp out the Samar insurrection during the dry season.

A captured communication from the Filipino junta at Hong Kong to General Lukban, the insurgent leader on Samar Island, authorizes him to surrender if he wishes to do so, but does not advocate this action. If he surrenders, the letter says, he need not deliver a single Filipino soldier or officer to the Americans, nor must he nor any other officer be forced to accept civil appointment. They may emigrate if allowed to do so; but no Filipino must be obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Under these terms the Hong Kong junta has no objection to Lukban's surrendering.

Señor Gomez, presidente of the town of Pasig, province of Manila, has been arrested on the charge of appropriating municipal taxes to his personal use.

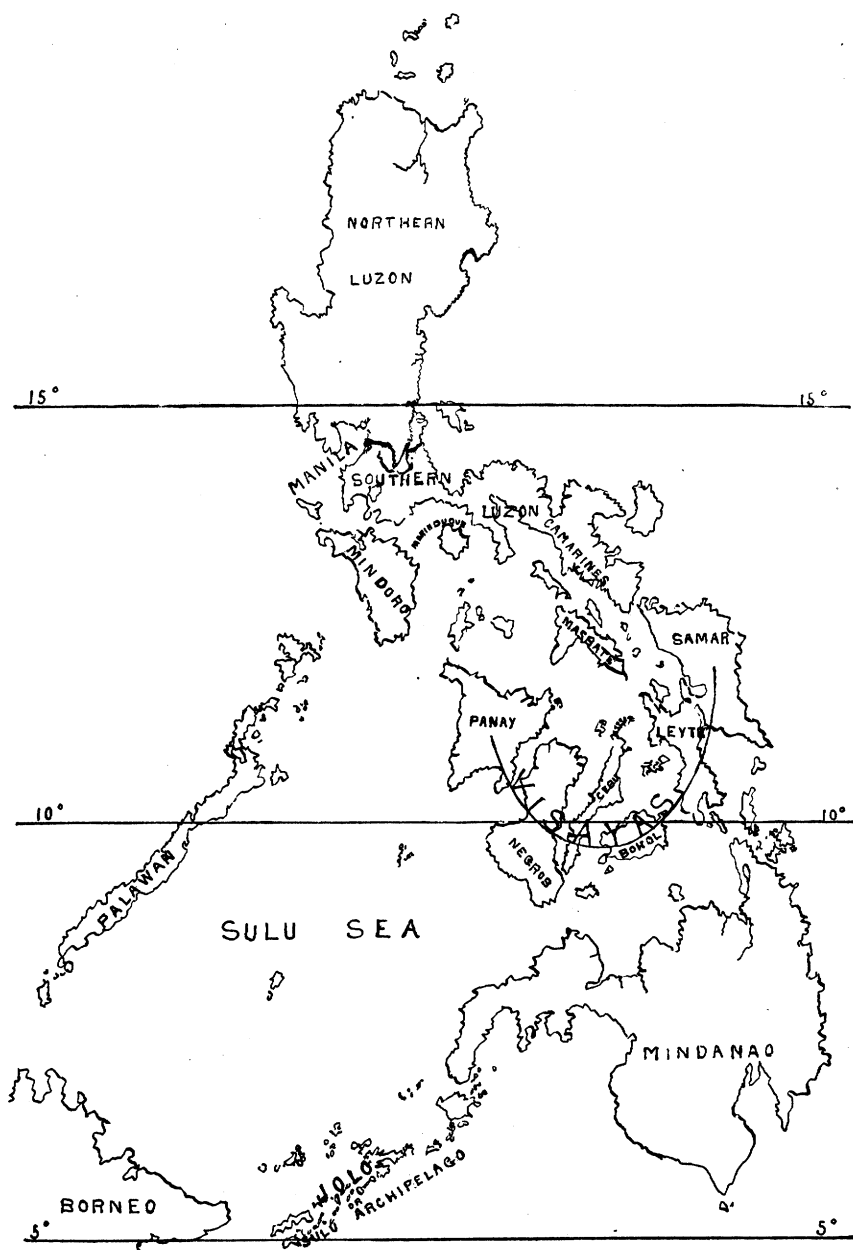
January 20.—General Wade cables from Cebu that three hundred and sixty-five insurgents surrendered in the island of Bohol on Friday. The authorities say that, if this statement is accurate, it is astonishing, as the secret service had failed to learn of the existence of any such body of insurgents on Bohol.

An important capture was made in Laguna province, Luzon, when eight men of the Eighth Infantry captured a woman insurgent named

Aquoda Kahabagan. She recently commanded an insurgent force of eight hundred men, three hundred of whom carried rifles, while five hundred were armed with bolos. For six years she has been leading insurgent bands against Spaniards and Americans.

A recent engagement in Batangas, Luzon, in which the insurgents were defeated with severe loss, resulted in the wounding of one American officer and the killing of one private.

Colonel Wint, operating in Batangas and Laguna, reports numerous small engagements.







# FACTS ABOUT THE FILIPINOS

As found in United States Documents and Other Authentic Publications.

---

This series of ten pamphlets has been prepared by the Philippine Information Society with a view to rendering easily accessible to the American people the most authentic information obtainable with regard to the people of the Philippine Islands, and our relations to them. The series covers the history of Philippine affairs from May, 1898, to July, 1901, drawn chiefly from Government Documents, and furnished with full references. The publications are not edited in the interest of any party or policy, and have been generally accepted as authoritative and judicial. It is believed that they will be of particular value to students and teachers of history.

---

The topics dealt with in the first series are as follows :

1. **The Islands and the People.**
2. **Were Promises made to Aguinaldo? Our Relations with the Insurgents prior to the Fall of Manila, August, 1898.**
3. **The Crucial Test: The Insurgent Government of 1898.**
4. **The Parting of the Ways: Aguinaldo and the American Generals, August, 1898, to January, 1899.**
5. **Crossing the Rubicon: An Episode of January, 1899, and Incidents leading up to the Outbreak of Hostilities.**
6. **Outbreak of Hostilities, February 4, 1899, and Seeking an Armistice, April and May, 1899.**
7. **Luzon Campaign of 1899.**
8. **Taking the Southern Islands, January, 1898, to July, 1900.**
9. **A Period of Guerrilla Warfare, November, 1899, to September, 1900.**
10. **Progress in Pacification, September, 1900, to July 1901.**

---

These Publications may be obtained from the Philippine Information Society, 62 Wall Street, New York. Price, \$1.00. Single copies, 10 cents.



# THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW

MARCH, 1902

Volume Two  
Number Five

Price, 10 Cents

\$1.00 a Year

The Philippine Information Society

62 Wall Street, New York

Branch Office: 12 Otis Place, Boston, Mass.



OFFICERS OF  
THE PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY.

---

*Chairman :*

JAMES J. PUTNAM, M.D., 106 Marlborough Street, Boston.

*Vice-Chairmen :*

HENRY CARTER ADAMS, Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

FRANCIS BLAKE, Auburndale, Mass.

EDWARD G. BOURNE, Ph.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

HENRY P. BOWDITCH, Ph.D., Harvard Medical School, Boston.

ARTHUR ASTOR CARY, 50 State Street, Boston.

RICHARD WATSON GILDER, Century Building, New York.

THOMAS C. MENDENHALL, LL.D., Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.

JOSIAH ROYCE, Ph.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK, Ph.D., Institute of Technology, Boston.

*Secretary :*

L. K. FULLER, 12 Otis Place, Boston.

*Treasurer :*

J. PENNINGTON GARDINER, Colonial Building, Boston.

---

OFFICES :

62 WALL STREET, New York.

12 OTIS PLACE, Boston.

# *The Philippine Review.*

*Vol. II.*

*March, 1902.*

*No. 5*

---

## CONTENTS.

The Viewpoint of a Filipino . . . . .	177
Congress, the President, and the Taft Commission . . . . .	185
Philippine Affairs in Congress . . . . .	189
Washington Letter.	
By a Staff Correspondent . . . . .	194
A Letter from the Philippines . . . . .	200
Current Philippine Literature . . . . .	203
Summary of Associated Press News . . . . .	204
Map . . . . .	205

---

**THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW** is a monthly publication furnishing in condensed and readily comprehensible form all current information concerning the political and social conditions in the Philippines, compiled from trustworthy sources, supplemented by correspondence from competent persons in the Philippines.

**THE PRICE.**—Subscription price is \$1.00 a year, payable in advance; single copies, 10 cents. Membership in the Society is \$5 per annum.

Letters should be addressed, and Checks made payable, to

**The Philippine Information Society,**

62 WALL STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.

---

The April and May numbers of the **PHILIPPINE REVIEW** will be consolidated, and will appear May first.

# The Philippine Review

---

VOL. II.

NEW YORK, MARCH, 1902.

No. 5.

---

## THE VIEW-POINT OF A FILIPINO.

[The Filipino who prepared this paper was a former officer in the insurgent army in the field. Early in the insurrection he had occasion to become better acquainted with the intentions of the Americans toward the Filipinos, and suffered hardships for his honest words among his comrades in favor of coming to an understanding. He is a full-blooded Tagalog, and is well educated, but far from belonging to the class of wealthy or prominent natives. He comes from the middle class, and most of his life (up to the time of the revolution and subsequently) was spent outside of Manila. He prefers that his name should not be made public.

As will be seen, the article is written in the form of answers to questions. These questions were sent by the Philippine Information Society to a prominent American in the Philippines, who undertook to place them in the hands of representative men, either American or Filipino, and who vouches for the author of this article.]

### Are the Lower Classes Interested in Public Affairs?

If I reply no-[to the above question], it may be objected that the Katipunan is a plebeian institution. And I am not satisfied to reply in the affirmative, because it would not be strictly correct. To enter into details, then, on this point:—

Philippine society was composed, at the coming of the Spaniards, of the aristocracy, the plain people, and slaves. The aristocracy of these times, which was haughty and patriotic, could not survive. It disappeared before the Spaniards, and its place was taken by the "principalia" (leading men of communities). The latter classification became, in the process of time, merely a nominal one. Slavery disappeared, also, and

Philippine society thus came to be made up of the following classes : —

1. Rich land-owners who were identified with the Spaniards in manners and customs.

2. Rich land-owners who were not identified with the Spaniards. There belong also to this class those who have obtained university titles, though not rich. (Of these may be cited as examples Pelaez, Burgos, Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Mabini, etc.)

3. The “middlemen,” agents and employees of the landed proprietors, business men, manufacturers, etc., the subordinate employees of the government, and those who have had some education, theoretical or practical. (I might name Andres Bonifacio, Aguinaldo, Malvar, Cailles, etc.)

4. The working class, the illiterate, and others not favored by fortune. (Such as Pio del Pilar and Licerio Gerónimo, under-officers in the Spanish army here, who, though uneducated, were yet generals of note in the revolution.)

As to those of the first class who did not suffer the rigors of Spanish government, it may be said that they were Spanish allies,—a privileged class; and equally with the Spaniards they looked with disdain or indifference upon the people. They took no part in the revolution. (There belonged to this class, for example, in Manila, Pedro Roxas, Reyes, Tuason. Roxas, however, suffered some persecution through the covetousness and envy of various officials; and a cousin of his was shot, though innocent.)

The other classes of citizens suffered. They hated the friar, and the Spanish government which protected and aided the friar; and they ended by declaring themselves.

The revolution altered anew Philippine society, it being inevitable that it should divide it into the two following great groups: Patriots, whether poor or rich, learned or ignorant; and the Indifferents (Tories, if you please), made up likewise of all classes.

Thus stated, I may answer the question put above thus: All patriotic Filipinos — and they are many — take interest in public affairs, and this without distinction of classes;



though one may affirm that it has been the middle class, with those unfavored of fortune, who have sacrificed most for their ideals,—more than the rich and prominent, whom the people, with or without reason, in general, consider as egoists and self-seekers.

And on this account I may affirm, without fear of making a mistake, that oligarchy, adopted as a system, would produce very evil results. The most suitable thing for our country is a regimen of real “aristocracy,” not necessarily of the men of loftiest position, but of those of all classes whose merit is fully recognized and whose patriotism is indisputable; for the Filipino people now know well, through the disenchantments that they have suffered, that only those who really love them and their interests and who possess the proper qualifications are possessed of the right to rule them.

The Katipunan was made up of members of the second, third, and fourth classes named above. The people of intelligence of the second class legislated, those of the third class carried the mandates into execution, and the great mass of the third class lent its obedience, there serving as bond of union the misfortune which was common to them all.

#### **Is the Federal Party Popular in Your Vicinity?**

It ought to, ~~but~~, unfortunately, it does not enjoy that much-desired popularity. I will explain. The Federal Party having come before the public (though the work of organization had long been going on) just at the time when the “war proclamation” of General MacArthur of December, 1900, was being carried out vigorously, many joined its ranks, not through conviction, but through fear. However, the example of those who really were convinced and the liberal features of the party doctrine, as well as the urgent necessity for peace, produced the effect that was hoped for. But to-day the party finds itself stationary, through the efficacious propaganda of the Nationalists (stopped, however, by the recent laws on libel and sedition), and further for the following reasons:—

1. Through the oligarchy, which slays the aspirations of the middle class, who, on account of their intelligence, self-sacrifice, and patriotism, occupy a position of distinction in the popular forum of politics. For example, the newspapers pay no attention to de la Rosa and others, because they are poor.

2. Because of the discrepancy in salaries in the civil service, looked upon by the people as unjust on account of the great differences, inequitable because founded on the supposition that the native has few wants, true formerly when they had no aspirations, but not now true, because they wish to better themselves. And because these salaries are paid out of the treasury of the islands.

3. Because of the lack of an active propaganda, since the Federal Party has but one newspaper, that in Spanish, while the Nationalists have four, two of them in Spanish and native dialects, and there is one which is Conservative-Nationalist-Spanish; and the sentiments of these papers are chorused by all the other papers published in Spanish, through the hatred and envy of the Federals, who are in power.

4. On account of lack of stimulus, such as elections would be, or the possibility of American sovereignty, on which the party rests its platform, being lost, or the risk of receiving reward from the government, since for the present it cannot be expected from the people, 80 per cent. of which is Nationalist.

5. On account of its being combated by all the other parties and factions, including the Spaniards resident here as foreigners, who still have influence through their former relationships and their extensive possessions, such as are those of the friars, the "Obras Pias" of the Church, the ecclesiastical headship of the Church, the Spanish Bank, the General Company of Tobaccos, "La Insula" tobacco company, and so on.

6. Because the advantages of federation with America are not fully understood, and there is the uncertainty of obtaining it without effusion of blood (so the Nationalists claim), an argument to be deduced also from the haughty, cruel, and

unjust conduct of those Americans here in the Philippines who are partisans of the *status quo* and of the difference of races.

7. Because of the delay in hearing from the Congress of the United States. Legislation by Congress of a definite character would disarm the Nationalists who are in the field, who, according to my information, no longer aspire to independence, but to a government of our own of a stable and liberal character, that will guarantee effectually the life, liberty, the property, and the uninterrupted progress of the sons of the country.

The Federal Party is comprised of men of all classes. It sustains the following principles: (1) that the best form of independence for this country is in federation with the United States; (2) that such federation is practicable, and that, when once this country is more fully civilized, it will be to the interest of both parties to bring it about; (3) that at all cost this ideal of federation, or statehood, must be pursued, since upon it will depend in future the uplifting, the liberty, and the security of the Filipinos, admitting that it seems inevitable that the Chinese Empire will become civilized and progressive in the modern sense. In this way, the Federal Party is distinctly a party of the future.

#### **Is there a Nationalized Party Working for Independence?**

There is no doubt that there exists a Nationalist faction working for independence. Some of the reasons for the existence of such a party: (1) because the United States have recognized and recognize the independence of Cuba; (2) because up to the present the Congress of the United States has not defined the political rights that it will grant to the Filipinos; (3) because there is no fear on the part of these Filipinos of absorption by China or by Japan, as their idea is only "independence under the protectorate of the United States," which would insure the integrity of the country, and without this protectorate some say there could be a Chino-Japano-Filipino alliance; (4) because the

people only judges by what it sees, and, as its view is not extensive, it sees only discriminations against it,—a situation which it hopes to better, not by means of progress (which really is the only way in which it can), but by a change in the form of government; (5) because ambitions have been awakened in the Filipinos since the revolution began, and it is plain that those who have been Presidents, Secretaries, Generals, and other officials, do not readily relinquish the trappings of power; (6) because high foreign interests (both of business men who fear the invasion of American capital and of the monastic orders) support the Nationalists in their campaign (according to well-defined rumors that no one denies). The Spanish business interests fear the vigorous competition of America. The religious orders find some reason for making this queer alliance and giving secret aid with money, because they know that, if the country became independent, they would be able, inside of ten years, without more trouble than the expenditure of some few millions of Mexican dollars, to obtain from the Filipino governing authorities, by means of the “transaction” hinted at, such laws as would safeguard their worldly exploitations under the garb of religion, and also even the union of Church and State again. I need only remark that this idea of union of Church and State was lost in the Congress of Malolos by a single vote.

The friars have not yet returned to their parishes, and it is very important that they never should return. Lest the idea of popular hatred of the friars should seem to be incompatible with what I have said as to friar support, of a secret nature, to the Nationalists, I will explain that the understanding between the Nationalists and the friars is at present only with the leaders, and not known to the generality of the following of Nationalism. I base this statement on two things: (1) part of the Nationalist press does not combat the friars; (2) the Nationalists do not lack pecuniary resources.

The Filipino is a man of generous instincts, and he will perhaps have pardoned the friars their offences; but he will not forget them, knowing well that the friar is an enemy to

be feared, because he pardons not, and he always aspires to power in order to enslave first the conscience and then the person.

#### **Home Life of the Filipinos.**

As to home life, educated Filipinos possess the vices and virtues, the liking and human tendencies, of Europeans and Americans. The lower classes aspire to rise; and, in general, all take an interest in knowing and discussing the affairs of the day. Except for some honorable exceptions, the women cannot be called very enlightened. But they occupy a pre-eminent place in the home. It is, in general, a Christian society, of which the educated are given to considerable freedom of thought and the uneducated to fanaticism and superstition. The latter are often capable of believing the most ridiculous absurdities. Children are not pert, but submissive and obedient. They are intelligent, but it is at present impossible to say which of their faculties shows greatest development. They do not degenerate, like negroes. On the contrary, their intelligence continues its development steadily with the growth of the body.

#### **Feeling Toward Americans.**

Where Americans have behaved badly, the feeling of the people toward them is one of hatred. The drivers of public vehicles in Manila, for instance, prefer to lose hours rather than to have to drive an American soldier. Those whose ideas of Americans have been so formed consider the revolution just, admire and venerate Aguinaldo.

As to expression of opinion, the Filipinos regularly hide their real feelings from those who, they have reason to think, might inform against them or from those who may not like what they say: to persons who enjoy their confidence they speak their mind freely.

The administration of justice under American rule is undoubtedly more satisfactory than under Spanish rule, so far as civil causes are concerned. As for criminal trials, it is perhaps to be questioned if the method of procedure now

employed, that of turning the entire machinery of prosecution over to the prosecuting attorneys and police, as in America, instead of the method formerly prevailing here by which the judges had inquisitorial power in the running down of criminals, would not better have been more gradually introduced. At any rate, the final and consistent reform of the Penal Code (which is as yet the Spanish Code, with American methods grafted on) is urgent.

But that which is above all urgent for the pacification of the country is legislation by Congress as to the political rights of the Filipinos, and the knowledge as to whether the archipelago can or cannot, soon or in the distant future, enter into the great Union of States.

MANILA, Dec. 10, 1901.

•

## CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT, AND THE TAFT COMMISSION.

"That part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature" was vested in the Taft Commission by President McKinley's instructions of April 7, 1900. "All military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands" until Congress should otherwise provide was, by the Act of Congress of March 2, 1901, commonly known as the Spooner Amendment, vested in the President or his appointees; and under this Act the President directed that the government under the Taft Commission should continue as before. And by the President's order of June 21, 1901, the executive authority over those parts of the Islands which were not in insurrection was conferred upon the president of the commission. As a result of these acts and orders, all three branches of government of the Philippines, the legislative, the judicial, and the executive, have been placed at the disposal of the President of the United States. By him the legislative and executive powers have been wholly or in part conferred upon the same person or body, the lines between the different branches have become blurred, and the careful observer is led to remark upon the change in point of view from the time when Madison, writing in the *Federalist*, quoted with discriminating approval the statement of Montesquieu that "there can be no liberty where the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person or body of magistrates," and added his own statement that "the accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judicial, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny." \* It is undoubtedly true that the doctrine of the separation of the various powers was a growth in our Anglo-Saxon communities coextensive with and partly dependent upon the growth of representative government, and it may be argued that it has no place in connec-

---

\* *The Federalist*, numbers 46-48.

tion with an unparliamentary government. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that the agitation for the separation of the three powers preceded representative government, and that such separation may be of more than ordinary importance when there is no opportunity to correct an abuse by an appeal to the people. It should at all events be recognized that in this respect the present temporary government of the Philippine Islands resembles more nearly a military rule than a constitutional government.

A delegation of legislative authority, also, appears to have been made by Congress to the President, and through him to the Philippine Commission. Although Congress has at times delegated certain powers to such bodies as a railroad commission, or to the Secretary of War for the regulation of navigation, the line has in the main been carefully observed which was drawn by Chief Justice Marshall, who defined the powers capable of delegation as powers touching small matters "in which a general provision may be made and power given to those who are to act under it to fill up details." "It will not be contended," he said, "that Congress can delegate to the courts or to any other tribunals powers which are strictly and exclusively legislative."† In the present instance there can be no pretence that there is not a grant of full legislative powers, and the justification depends upon the determination of difficult and intricate questions of constitutional interpretation which cannot here be entered into. In one sense it is true that every territorial legislature exercises delegated legislative powers, but such delegation differs from that which we are now considering, in that the body to whom the power is delegated is a representative body, while in the present case it is not. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that Congress itself has created the territorial governments, while in the present case Congress has delegated the power to create a government. However this result may be explained in terms of constitutional law, it is a fact that Congress is acting toward

---

† *Wayman v. Southard*, 10 Wheat. 1, 43; *Field v. Clark*, 143 U. S. 649, 694; *Reagan v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Co.*, 154 U. S. 362; *United States v. Oringsbee*, 74 Fed. 207, 209.



the Philippines in the matter of a temporary government as if it were the Privy Council of England dealing with a Crown Colony.

The main historical precedent in this country, both in respect to delegation of powers and in respect to the grouping of the different powers in the hands of a single person or body, is the case of Louisiana. In the case of California and New Mexico, Congress remained inactive by reason of a deadlock over the question of slavery, and until California became a State, and until a permanent government was established in the Territory, the President made no attempt at legislation; in his embarrassment arising from a sense of lack of power, he busied himself chiefly in the exercise of a quasi-military authority merely to maintain the *status quo*. In the case of Louisiana, as a very temporary measure, Congress placed at the disposal of the President "all the military, civil, and judicial powers exercised by the officers of the existing government."\* This was explicitly stated to be for the purpose of "maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion," and was not generally supposed to include the power to enact laws or to establish a form of government. Mr. Sidney Webster is probably right in his conclusion that it did not include such powers.† At all events, there is no such ambiguity in the present grant of power to the President, for one of the objects expressly enumerated is the "establishment of civil government," . . . "all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands" being placed at his disposal.

By way of elucidation, a word about the British Crown Colonies may not be amiss. The Crown, or the King in Council, has all the powers of government, legislative, executive, and judicial. These powers are delegated to a governor appointed by the Crown; but in general he is assisted by a legislative and by an executive council also appointed by the Crown, with the result that there is a practical division of

\* 2 U. S. Stat. 245, c. 1, § 2.

† Sidney Webster, *Two Treaties of Paris*, page 26.

executive and legislative powers. British Honduras, the Falkland Islands, and the Straits Settlements are typical of this state of things. In the Dutch colonies, in the East Indies, the governor has legislative as well as executive powers, and is assisted by councils, which, however, are in the main advisory. In the British Crown Colony of Gibraltar all powers are united in a single man, the governor. The Crown, however, is the primary authority, and the form of government is generally established by Orders in Council, and not by delegated authority; and, although the Crown unites all powers, there is a practical separation of the legislative and the executive branches which can be attained by the Taft Commission only by a further delegation of its authority. It must be remembered, moreover, that the British Crown Colonies do not by any means include all the British dependencies, and that in the more important ones a further separation of the legislative branch is reached by the establishment of a more or less independent, representative, legislative body.

## PHILIPPINE AFFAIRS IN CONGRESS.

Since the tariff bill was passed and turned over to the Senate, little, if anything, of importance has occurred in the House touching Philippine matters. What discussion there has been was occasioned by a clause in the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Bill (H. R. 9315), which provided \$500,000 for the proper housing of our troops. It was not denied that this was for barracks at Manila and other points in the Philippine Islands. And it was therefore objected that new legislation could not be passed on an appropriation bill. Then the argument that these barracks were evidently meant to be permanent, quickly opened the way to a number of speeches on January 21 and January 23 about our position in the Philippines in general.\* As the speeches made during these two days were all brief, and as they touched on almost every phase of the Philippine question without developing anything new, it would be as unnecessary as it would be difficult to summarize them. Indeed, the only thing which would be sure to strike any one who read the whole report would be the fact that numberless questions are being raised which bear on no one exactly knows what, whose relation to each other is not understood, and which no party or committee has yet grasped and put into perspective. One member said what all probably felt,—that the question is not whether this bill shall pass or that one, but what are we trying to do? Meanwhile, however, this bill or that bill is brought in, and the House takes them up, laboring with almost as many policies and conceptions of duty as there are members, and, sometimes “unable,” at others “unwilling,” to commit itself, gets provoked into discussions which have but little result. In these debates even more often than in others the general question gets stranded on disputes of fact. As all who have been reading the papers know, it is just these disputes of fact and the need for more facts about which the Senate has had some short but heated moments.†

---

\* *Congressional Record*, pages 805, 878, 883, 897, 921, 928, 967, 991, 993, 1055, 1057, 1127.

† *Congressional Record*, page 1672.

In the Senate \* Mr. Lodge has brought the tariff bill (H. R. 5833) up regularly ; and, as in the House, there has been a great deal of miscellaneous discussion which need not be reported.

The clause which makes the most important change in the tariff bill (for a summary see the *Philippine Review* for February, page 156, note) is to the effect that on Philippine products 75 per cent. only of the Dingley rates shall be charged, and that from the duties levied in this country on goods brought in from the Philippines the amount of the export duty, if there has been any, shall be subtracted.†

The bill "to promote the prosperity and establish the independence of the Philippine Islands," which was reported by the minority of the committee, provides in substance that the United States relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, that there shall be free trade between this country and the Philippines, that as soon as the Filipinos shall set up a stable government, and give securities for the performance of our treaty obligations with Spain, the United States shall withdraw from the Islands (reserving only military, naval, and coaling stations), and that until that time the present laws and regulations not inconsistent with this bill shall continue in force. This minority bill was explained by Senator Rawlins, who said ‡ that the Philippine Commission expects a surplus from the present system of taxation of more than \$700,000, that in view of this the minority of the committee could not see the need of a bill "temporarily to provide revenue." Senator Rawlins considered that the true object of the bill submitted by the majority was to obstruct trade between this country and the Philippines for the benefit of our industries. He continued: "We discover in that measure this principle, that you are unwilling and deem it to be unsafe to treat the islands as if domestic ter-

\* See *Congressional Record*, pages 744, 747, 865, 872, 1008, 1012, 1074, 1090, 1112, 1138, 1498, 1592, 1631, 1671.

† For the text of the bill which was submitted on January 20, and for that of the bill submitted by the committee's minority, see *Congressional Record*, page 745.

‡ *Congressional Record*, page 1078.

ritory. . . . Following your pathway a little farther we step to the line of declaring that these islands shall be foreign territory, and then as soon as the procedure can be safely carried out we will turn over the government of the Islands to their inhabitants." . . . Senator Lodge subsequently pointed out that custom duties provided nine-tenths of the present revenue, and that immediate improvements outlined by Governor Taft would use up the surplus. In reply Senator Rawlins said that a failure to pass the committee's bill would reduce the revenue of the Philippines "to the extent of the tariff taxation derived on the trade between the Islands and the United States. That amounts to less than \$400,000," and that all expenditures had been considered in allowing for the surplus.

When the tariff bill was taken up on January 27, Senator Rawlins began a discussion of the Treason Law enacted by the Philippine Commission by saying that, at a time when the Commission was stating that there was no war except in a few limited localities, it had enacted a law which virtually abolished the right of free speech. The debate on this question then became general. On one side, it was argued that Philippine law was much harsher than our own, and that certain clauses of our own law would be too harsh for enforcement among a strange people; on the other side, that the Philippine laws differed in no essential from ours, and that the conditions justified its enactment.\*

From the Treason Law, argument passed to wider issues, and Senator Money attacked the administration's whole Philippine policy. He said that he did not believe that anybody's motive was to give the Filipinos better government or better religion; that we have got into a war which "is always over and yet never ended"; that we cannot assume that "a lull in the conflict there is a permanent settlement"; that a government cannot be conferred on a people from without; and, finally, that we must come to the point of doing "something

---

\* *Congressional Record*, page 1013 *et seq.* See also pages 1449, 1498, 1554, 1592. For a comparison of the two laws giving quotations see *Philippine Review*, February, 1902, page 133.

radical and positive," something "substantive and affirmative."\*

Senator Hale agreed that the situation was grave, and said that, in trying thus early to mix civil and military government, we were trying to do something unheard of in the history of colonial administration, but asked what remedy Senator Money would suggest. Senator Money's opinion, (which he said might be held by no one else), was summed up as follows by Senator Hale:—

"In short, his program would be, as soon as it is possible, whatever they (the Filipinos) may be, whatever may be their capacity for self-government, whatever may be the conflicts that will arise before that is established, to leave them to their own devices and withdraw. It is an entirely different program from that which is outlined by the minority of the committee."

After Senator Money had accepted this statement of his view, Senator Hale went on: "I am by no means certain, Mr. President, but what the Senator has struck what in the end everybody will come to. There is a great deal in what he says about the power of conferring a government upon a people. No people ever had a good government conferred upon them. Every good government, every self-government, every stable government, has been earned by war, by suffering, by sacrifice. The Senator from Mississippi is right in saying that you cannot confer a government. I do not know but what the Senator has struck the solution. I feel myself at a loss to conclude what will come out of this experiment, and I suppose that there is nothing that we can do except from time to time to demonstrate as well as we can what is the real situation there. In the end it may become what the Senator from Mississippi advances, as I understand it, as his view of it." †

Next Senator Beveridge questioned Senator Money. "After the Philippine leaders had begun a native government you would leave some soldiers in the archipelago for the pur-

\* *Congressional Record*, pages 1015-1024.

† *Congressional Record*, page 1019.

pose of preventing foreign interference, but would otherwise withdraw all authority. Suppose, then, that the people of the Visayans should rebel against the native government which our troops would be there to protect against the outer world: would you have our troops put down the rebellion?" \* The answer was, No; and Senator Beveridge then asked, "Suppose the native government should borrow money abroad, and that when the interest fell due a foreign power should come to take possession of the Philippine ports and appropriate customs dues: would you have us prevent the collection of the debt or would you have us guarantee the debt?" † To this Senator Money replied by referring to our agreement with Cuba, by which she is not to make a debt of which we do not approve, or which she cannot pay out of the revenues as they accrue, and by saying that he did not propose that United States troops should stay in the Philippines indefinitely." ‡

On February 10, Senator Turner, of Washington, began a long speech, in which he reviewed the whole Philippine question, and argued against the course adopted by the Republican party. § He maintained, to begin with, that the tariff proposed in the bill "temporarily to provide revenue" is unconstitutional. He next reviewed the history of our relations with the natives at the beginning, and contended that we knew of their aspirations and accepted their aid, that we then cut them out from all the fruits of victory, and thereby sowed the seed of later trouble. He then pointed to the fact that between the time when the Spanish were shut up in Manila and the time when the United States undertook the active control of the Islands they were governed by the native government. Our policy, therefore, had been a war of conquest, and our treatment of the natives harsh and unjust. Senator Turner ended by stating that he should give his support to the minority bill, which he considered as embodying the best policy.

---

\* Summarized.

† Summarized.

‡ *Congressional Record*, pages 1015-1020.

§ *Congressional Record*, pages 1631-1650.

## WASHINGTON LETTER.

*From a Staff Correspondent.*

The differences of policy between the civil government bill introduced by Representative Cooper of Wisconsin, in the House and that introduced by Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts, in the Senate, which were described in my last letter, seem likely to be adjusted upon a basis agreeable alike to Congress and to the War Department. The chief difference was over the promise to the Philippine people of a legislative assembly, with representation in Washington. The Lodge bill made no promise at all, while the Cooper bill fixed January 1, 1901, as the date for the new system to go into operation. The bill which finally passes, it is expected, will carry the promise of such an assembly, but will leave the date of its going into operation to be determined by future events. This will put the institution of the new régime virtually at the discretion of the Philippine Commission, of which Judge Taft is now the head.

The form of this promise will doubtless be that, whenever the existing insurrection shall cease and a condition of general and complete peace prevail, the Philippine Commission shall make certification of this fact to the President of the United States. When he is satisfied on this point, he will authorize the commission to call a general election for the choice of delegates to a "popular assembly of the people of the Philippine Islands," as the revised Cooper bill tautologically reads. This will be known as the Philippine Assembly; and after such an election all the legislative power which is for the present conferred upon the Philippine Commission will be transferred to a legislature of two houses, the upper to consist of the present Philippine Commission, enlarged to eleven members and still appointed by the President, and the lower to be this Philippine Assembly, whose membership will be between fifty and one hundred. It should be understood that the part of the archipelago inhabited by the Moros and other non-Christian tribes is not included in this civil government plan. The two sets of people would not mix in a



popular government. They have not worked together at any stage of Philippine proceedings, and the War Department evidently believes that the system of tribal control will have to continue with the Moros for many years.

At the same time that the Christian portion of the archipelago is divided into these assembly districts, numbering between fifty and one hundred, and containing as nearly as possible an equal population, the same territory is to be divided into three grand commissioner districts, each of which may choose a resident commissioner to represent it in Washington. He will have the privilege of the floor of either House of Congress, and a salary of \$5,000 paid out of the Insular Treasury a year; but, beyond that, his powers will apparently be less than those of the delegates of the territories, who now serve on committees, speak in Congress, and in fact do everything except vote. Probably the reason this grade of commissioner is proposed, as in Porto Rico, is to discourage anything which looks like a step toward Statehood. The qualification for electors in these general elections will be the same as in the municipalities. The men chosen for the Filipino Assembly must be over twenty-five years old, *bona fide* residents of the archipelago, and owing allegiance to the United States. The commissioners must be thirty years old. In spite of Governor Taft's quoted remark that the Filipino women seem more enterprising and capable than the men, the promoters of this bill have not seen fit to provide for equal suffrage of the sexes in the Philippines. These elections are to be held biennially, the terms of the assemblymen to begin in the January following their election, and the assembly to meet for a ninety days' session on the first of February. In case the ninety days are exhausted without the passage of the necessary supply bills, the Philippine Commission is to be empowered to pass them. This is the essence of the compromise plan contained in the new Cooper bill.

This is all very pretty! But the vastly more important question relates to the time when the Philippine Commission will be able to certify to the existence of complete and

general peace. Opinions still differ widely as to the progress which our troops are making in pacification. Several conditions greatly confuse all estimates on this point, and account in part for the varying reports which come from the archipelago. Chief of these elements of confusion appears to be what is called the treacherous disposition of the Malay. He is a friend one day and an enemy the next, according as it best suits the ends which he has in view. At least, an abundance of testimony tends to support this estimate of his character. How, then, is the Taft Commission to know, when a state of profound peace becomes apparent, whether it is really an agreement among the Filipinos that this is their best move as a preparation for accomplishing their desires, or whether peace signifies enthusiastic loyalty to the United States and gratitude for our beneficent sway.

As illustrating this point, John Fitzgibbon of Detroit, who is entirely neutral in his feelings, tells of a great celebration which was given in the province of Tayabas, when he was there, to its governor, Colonel Cornelius Gardiner. With arches and bands of music and decorations, the natives escorted the governor out of the city, when he had occasion to leave for Manila, and gave every appearance of enthusiasm over American rule. Mr. Fitzgibbon says the chief city of the province, of the same name, seemed as peaceful and well ordered as any American town. Yet within a few months he found himself reading of almost daily scouting parties there and of the renewal of a quiet though harassing insurrection. The same Filipinos lead in both enterprises.

---

The investigation of Philippine conditions before the Lodge committee of the Senate, growing out of Senator Hoar's effort to have a genuine investigation of the war, has thus far not attracted much attention. Governor Taft has been the only witness. It is surmised that his testimony has been strung out over so many days, not so much on account of the scanty time at the disposal of the committee as because of the public effect of his optimistic recital. The newspapers will print only about so much in any one day, and

hence it was good economy of optimistic material to spread it out over as many days as possible. Whether this policy actually governs the majority may perhaps be known when the adverse witnesses, if there be any, come on the stand. By a parity of reasoning they will presumably be pushed through as rapidly as possible. Aside from the committee, only representatives of the press associations have been allowed to attend these hearings. This is hardly fair, if it is really desired that the public should know what is said; and seemingly it is unnecessary. To other committee hearings, like the investigation of Clark of Montana's election, the doors are open. Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson, in the Boston *Herald*, started an agitation for opening the doors of the Lodge committee, and it has been taken up in the Senate. It may yet bear some fruit.

But the most surprising development of the month has been the growing evidence of the genuine vitality of anti-imperialism as a political issue. This has been shown not so much in the committees which have questioned Governor Taft as on the floor of the Senate. When Bryan was defeated so ignominiously in 1900, there was a tendency on the part of his adherents to lay the responsibility upon every issue for which he stood. Silver men said in effect that anti-imperialism had swamped them in the West, that it had lost for the ticket much of the strength that it would otherwise have had. The anti-imperialists, on the other hand, laid the blame on silver, or on Mr. Bryan's personality, although in a very large number of cases they did not themselves vote for him when the time came. Since we have no method of checking off issues, when voting a party ticket, it is impossible to tell what forces contribute most to any particular resultant; and so in case of defeat there is a suspicion of everything that may have been connected with it. A good many of the Democratic newspapers had been opposed to anti-imperialism, notably in such Southern cities as Atlanta, Louisville, and Nashville; and it looked for a time as if the Democrats would take up anti-imperialism as a further issue with very great reluctance. But the proceedings of the last month have dissipated this

view. The opposition was never so vigorous and united on anti-imperialism as an issue as it is to-day. It is further notable that of the independent newspapers, having more or less alliance with the Democratic party, those of the gold standard East are much more apt to be imperialistic than those of the populist sections of the West. The *New York Times*, *Journal of Commerce*, and *Commercial Bulletin*, and the *Providence Journal* are vigorously imperialistic.

But the press is frequently an unsafe interpreter of the feelings of those whom it professes to represent. The people at large are evidently in a waiting mood. They hear of material improvements in the Philippines, like the schools and highways, better courts of justice, the proposed absorption of the friar lands, the promise of a unification of language, cleaner streets in Manila, a better harbor and breakwater, better protection against contagious diseases, etc. ; and they conclude that the expansion policy is a good thing, and a necessary part of our obligation to humanity. Then they hear of the skirmishes and ambuscades, and measures of reconcentration. They read the list of American soldiers dying in the tropics, and scan the numbers of Filipino dead, with, of course, a few wounded. The every-day American citizen, viewing this side of the shield, thinks the expansion policy a bad thing, and its early abandonment demanded by every dictate of humanity. Between the two opinions the American people seem to be swaying, each man's mind being made up on the basis of the kind of testimony which most comes his way, and by the emphasis which he himself lays upon the different elements of the problem. The traditions of the American people are, of course, all against the imperialistic policy ; and no amount of sophistry can make our conquest of these islands analogous to our winning of the great West, with its vast unsettled stretches, its contiguity to our own territory, and its adaptability for a white civilization.

The Republican party is now on the defensive, according to all appearances : its policy is indistinct, and any expression of it halting. The Democrats, while perhaps quite as much

at sea as to anything affirmative, are leading a vigorous attack all along the line. It seems probable that the fall elections of this year will more than ever before be fought on the imperialistic issue, except where Republican candidates, by taking a conservative position, disarm their opponents. There is a growing tendency on the part of Republican Congressmen to think the expansion policy may be a good thing for the Filipinos, but is sure to be very unprofitable for the United States. This is one of the early though important stages of doubt. It is now coming over a great many people, wholly independent of other considerations.

## A LETTER FROM THE PHILIPPINES.\*

This letter emerges from a little town on the island of Negros, where I am buried alive, as far as communication with the world is concerned. From other points of view, however, I am exceptionally fortunate in my opportunity to observe the Filipino in his purity. Negros has always been a peaceful and rich island, and conditions here are probably nearer to the primitive ones than anywhere else in the archipelago. Other places are more poverty-stricken, and in that way more savage; but none that I have seen are less touched by any of the mere conventionalities of civilization. The population is composed of probably a dozen comparatively wealthy sugar planters and some two thousand men, women, and children, who work on the haciendas or at fishing. Of these, only two men, and one of them a Spanish planter, have any conception of a world outside the Philippines. To the rest the island of Negros is the biggest thing in the world. Only yesterday I had great difficulty in convincing my native colleague that the mountains of America were not inhabited by a fabulous monster with a very long nose, known as an elephante. Very few of the people speak Spanish, perhaps one per cent. of the men and one-twenty-fifth per cent. of the women.

Furthermore, as there has never been any general trouble on this island, the people have never learned to fear and hate the American as a man with a gun; neither, for some reason, does he regard us as the men of destiny. His general attitude is one of passive contempt for a creature who is easily cheated. As maestro, I naturally come into closer and more kindly relations with the people than any other American could, with a possible exception of a physician; and yet very few of the people think it worth while to utter the customary *Buenos días* when I pass them on the street. In the phrase of the soldiers, "They have no use for Americans."

Yet, as I said in a recent letter, these Bisayans are rarely

---

\* This is a personal letter from an American teacher in the Philippines to a member of the society, printed with the permission of the recipient. As the editors have not had time to communicate with him, the name of the writer is withheld.

sullen, as the Tagalogs often are. If they speak to you at all, it is with a winning smile, which is worth its face value, no more. My short experience here has taught me never to trust any one. A corollary to this axiom is, always appear to trust every one. This is a grand school of diplomacy, and the man who can conceal his desire longest is sure to get it fulfilled.

Some two or three recent incidents in my life here may give you a little better insight into the character of our fellow-countrymen.

When I reached ———, I needed a cook, and an American recommended as a wonderful cook one Milicio, who had been discharged by two other employers for dishonesty, and was almost starving, along with his wife (aged fifteen) and a baby. So I called him up, and told him I knew his record, and should watch him closely, and at the first slip send him to jail without mercy. He begged me to take him, and kill him if he stole a grain of rice. So I have paid him liberally, given work to his wife, allowed him rice and fish for the family, and been repaid with wonderful dishes. After about a month I learned that he had been asking me for \$1.20 to buy manteca (lard), and paying ninety for it. Immediately the three Americans in town formed themselves into a summary court-martial and sent a policeman for Milicio. Three witnesses swore that they had sold him lard at 90 cents, while he as firmly swore to the \$1.20. Then all at once he dropped on his knees, crying and begging for mercy. We gave him a fine of two pesos and a severe lecture, and he retired in disgrace. Next morning he came in while I was eating breakfast, and with smiling courtesy asked for a glass of brandy, and wanted money to buy some more lard.

The same court, one of them an officer, tried another man on a life and death case, that of being one of a band of outlaws who had cut the military telegraph between this town and the next. We could have shot him at once if he had proved guilty; but seven witnesses all swore to his whereabouts on the date of the crime, and also stated that he had never "been in the mountains." So we had to let him go. In an hour he returned and asked the lieutenant to give

him work, as he did not dare to go back to the mountains again, lest the other "gentes de los montes" kill him. We liked his nerve so much that he is working here now.

This same cook of mine came to me last night and begged for two pesos to buy food for his wife and baby. About fifteen minutes ago there was an uproar in front of the house. The wife was calling another woman at the front of my house all sorts of bad names. On investigation, I found Milicio squatted in the kitchen, smoking a cigar, and listening to the uproar with a pitying smile. It seems that he had spent the two pesos on the other woman: his wife and the baby really had no show; and, when the three met this morning, he wisely retired to the kitchen, and let the women fight it out. His wife was saying that she should go back to her mother. "Let her go," said Milicio to me, "the other one is much better." By the way, several gentlemen have attempted to sell me a superfluous daughter since my arrival.

If I had believed in a consciousness of right and wrong as existing in the minds of all men, I should have to reconstruct my ethics, for these people, without exaggeration, never trouble themselves about any law of conduct. If they want to do a thing, they do it, whether it is to kill a man, steal a sack of rice, or go to church. Life here is a sort of a supplement to Mr. Mill.



## CURRENT PHILIPPINE LITERATURE.

---

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE PHILIPPINES? By Major John H. Parker.—*The Forum* for February, 1902.

In our first dealings with the Filipinos, Major Parker says, we showed tact and understanding of the situation. We aided them in their rebellion against Spain, and, as they conceived, recognized them as allies. On our purchase of the Islands a complication was precipitated from the fact that, although Spain could give us a clean title from the point of view of international law, yet she "could not deliver possession." For although, technically speaking, the Filipinos "had no sovereign rights, the fact remains that they had, nevertheless, made themselves masters of the territory, had captured the Spanish garrisons, were in possession of the official records, and, whether we recognize it or not, had organized a system of government, republican in form, imperial in nature, well suited to their needs, and very effective in administration."

Now, however, when we have at last forced a recognition of our sovereignty, the question of our future policy comes up for consideration. From the point of view of our advantage, Major Parker holds that the Islands are a source of military weakness, and are of no economic value, our interests demanding only an open door in the East, now happily guaranteed by solemn treaties. Discussing the possible future of the Islands, Major Parker states that undeniably the Filipinos have demonstrated "a virility, a capacity for organization, and a tenacity of purpose that were never before credited to them. Their *de facto* government was a strong one, exercising real power over the people while it lasted. It was distinctly an advance on Spanish rule. The ease with which their leaders have maintained secret authority over the people since its disintegration demonstrates the cohesive power of their projected system. The bitter sacrifices they have made on the altar of nationalism and the devotion they have manifested in blindly following a mistaken ideal, give earnest of rich development under more favorable conditions." Nevertheless, Major Parker holds that it would be worse than folly for us to encourage in a people so utterly foreign to ourselves the idea of ultimate Statehood; while, on the other hand, their duplicity is so inveterate that it would ill become the United States "to launch on the sea of national life a craft which would be steered by such a chart."

Finally, Major Parker argues that the Monroe Doctrine means "America for the Americans," and that consistently we should refrain from intervention in the East. The solution of the Philippine question apparently approved by Major Parker, is the cession of the Islands for a "suitable equivalent to some European or Asiatic power capable of guaranteeing the continuance of the stable conditions we have guaranteed therein."

## SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS.

*January 23 to February 14.*

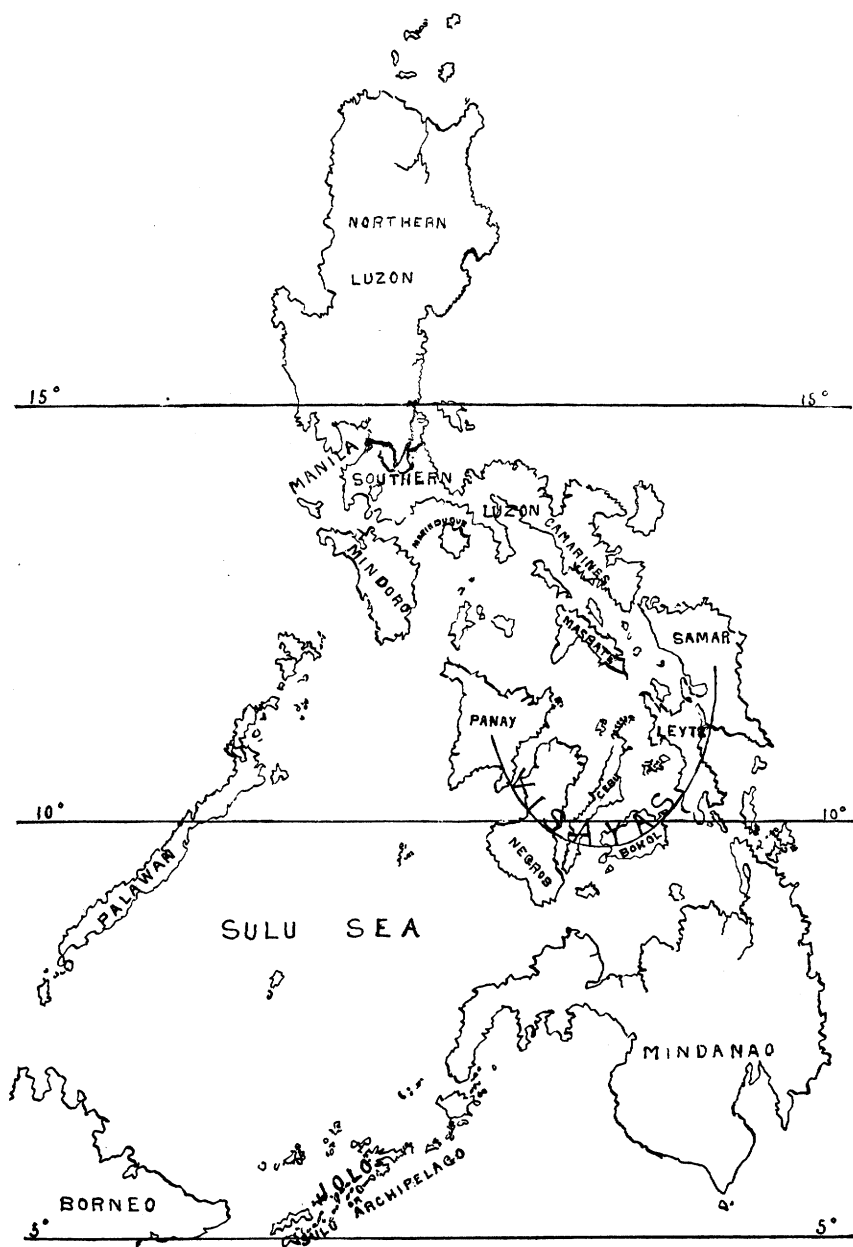
January 29.—Major Lot and three Filipino lieutenants, with ten rifles, three revolvers, and twenty-four bolos, surrendered to Major Anderson at Lipa Province, Batangas. Major Lot was brought in sick on a litter. He was cordially hated at Lipa, where he looted \$55,000 worth of jewelry from prominent families. His brother, Colonel Lot, was also captured near Batangas. Lieutenant Karnes, in a slight engagement with some Filipinos, killed two and captured a captain and two privates. The general outlook in Batangas is decidedly favorable.

January 31.—The general outlook for pacification, outside of Samar, has never been more favorable since the original outbreak. The insurgents have been broken up into small bands and are fleeing for shelter. Daily they surrender, are captured, or are killed. The policy of reconcentration and the stern measure of closing the ports have accomplished everything expected of them. General Chaffee still hopes that by the end of February only the island of Samar will remain unpacified.

The provinces in Southern Luzon bordering on Batangas and Laguna have been patrolled by the native constabulary, who have done excellent work, and are commended by General Bell in command there. The commission are proud of this constabulary, which was organized following their suggestion; and the greatest care is exercised in the selection of officers for this force. During the past month eighty-two military posts have been handed over to them.

General Chaffee has issued positive orders to all military commanders to co-operate in every way with the civil authorities without relaxing in severity in dealing with active insurgents.

February 14.—Captain William M. Swaine, in an engagement in Samar, recently captured thirty bolomen and four riflemen. There were no American casualties. It was learned afterward that Lukban, the insurgent leader in Samar, had been with this band two hours previously.





# FACTS ABOUT THE FILIPINOS

As found in United States Documents and Other Authentic Publications.

---

This series of ten pamphlets has been prepared by the Philippine Information Society with a view to rendering easily accessible to the American people the most authentic information obtainable with regard to the people of the Philippine Islands, and our relations to them. The series covers the history of Philippine affairs from May, 1898, to July, 1901, drawn chiefly from Government Documents, and furnished with full references. The publications are not edited in the interest of any party or policy, and have been generally accepted as authoritative and judicial. It is believed that they will be of particular value to students and teachers of history.

---

The topics dealt with in the first series are as follows :

1. The Islands and the People.
2. Were Promises made to Aguinaldo? Our Relations with the Insurgents prior to the Fall of Manila, August, 1898.
3. The Crucial Test : The Insurgent Government of 1898.
4. The Parting of the Ways : Aguinaldo and the American Generals, August, 1898, to January, 1899.
5. Crossing the Rubicon : An Episode of January, 1899, and Incidents leading up to the Outbreak of Hostilities.
6. Outbreak of Hostilities, February 4, 1899, and Seeking an Armistice, April and May, 1899.
7. Luzon Campaign of 1899.
8. Taking the Southern Islands, January, 1898, to July, 1900.
9. A Period of Guerrilla Warfare, November, 1899, to September, 1900.
10. Progress in Pacification, September, 1900, to July, 1901.

---

These Publications may be obtained from the Philippine Information Society, 62 Wall Street, New York. Price, \$1.00. Single copies, 10 cents.



# THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW

MAY, 1902

Volume Two    Number Six

*Concluding Number of Series II*

Price, 10 Cents

\$1.00 a Year

**The Philippine Information Society**

62 Wall Street, New York

Branch Office: 12 Otis Place, Boston, Mass.





OFFICERS OF  
THE PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY.

---

*Chairman:*

JAMES J. PUTNAM, M.D., 106 Marlborough Street, Boston.

*Vice-Chairmen:*

HENRY CARTER ADAMS, Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

FRANCIS BLAKE, Auburndale, Mass.

EDWARD G. BOURNE, Ph.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

HENRY P. BOWDITCH, Ph.D., Harvard Medical School, Boston.

ARTHUR ASTOR CARY, 50 State Street, Boston.

RICHARD WATSON GILDER, Century Building, New York.

THOMAS C. MENDENHALL, LL.D., Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.

JOSIAH ROYCE, Ph.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK, Ph.D., Institute of Technology, Boston.

*Secretary:*

L. K. FULLER, 12 Otis Place, Boston.

*Treasurer:*

J. PENNINGTON GARDINER, Colonial Building, Boston.

---

OFFICES:

62 WALL STREET, New York.

12 OTIS PLACE, Boston.

# *The Philippine Review.*

*Vol. II.*

*May, 1902.*

*No. 6*

---

## CONTENTS.

Life in a Philippine Province . . . . .	209
Report of Colonel Gardener, Civil Governor of Tayabas . . . . .	217
Washington Letter. By a Staff Correspondent . . . . .	225
Philippine Affairs in Congress . . . . .	230
Current Philippine Literature . . . . .	234
Summary of Associated Press News . . . . .	240
Map . . . . .	244

---

The **May** number of the **PHILIPPINE REVIEW** concludes the second volume of the publications of the Philippine Information Society.

Hereafter issues of the Society will deal with defined topics rather than with miscellaneous current events; and the publication will be irregular, depending upon the times and seasons at which valuable material is obtained. Subscriptions will be refunded in proper proportion to subscribers who are dissatisfied with the change.

# The Philippine Review

---

VOL. II.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1902.

No. 6.

---

## LIFE IN A PHILIPPINE PROVINCE.

*By an American Resident.*

To an exile who reads home papers and periodicals the misinformation of Americans as to conditions in the Philippines appears woefully great. This misinformation is due to several causes. In the first place, correspondents of newspapers have usually lived chiefly in Manila or Iloilo, neither of which is, properly speaking, a Filipino town; and it is only when something interesting (in other words, abnormal) occurs in the provinces, which comprise ninety-nine per cent. of the Islands, that a correspondent reaches the scene. So he gets only a hurried glimpse of conditions, and the real life of the natives remains a sealed book to him.

A further source of information is the mass of military reports, emanating for the most part from Manila. Reports from the provinces generally reach America only in the boiled down condition to which the commanding officer reduces them. Remember that he sees native life across a line of sentries, and it is easy to understand that he is as likely to eliminate the significant as the meaningless. As for the officers from whom he receives his reports, they may be fairly divided into two great classes: those who, with great complacency, style all natives "niggers"; and those who, having established friendly relations with a few wealthy families, are apt to see all things through very rosy glasses. By the etiquette of officialdom, no officer can come into close contact with the real unfathomable native, unless it be some isolated company commander; and it is needless to say

that the reports of captains and lieutenants do not reach either Congress or the people.

As for the great mass of civil reports, they also are mostly from Manila ; while the provincial capitals of late have begun to take on the aspect of that city,—an artificial society formed of the little circle of American officials and a few of the best native families. If the provincial governor is a native, he neglects to report the very things that are of interest, because to him they are the commonplaces of life. If an American, his information comes from periodical trips and interviews with native presidentes. And the commission or the Congressional Committee, with its steamer and its short stops at important towns to view interesting points and flourishing industries, prinked out for the occasion, naturally fails to see below the surface.

And the interviewed native, the smiling, accommodating native, what shall we say of him ? With a few notable exceptions, you may be sure of hearing what you want to hear from him. On many a trip, when a presidente has thought I looked wearied on hearing of a twenty-mile ride to the next town, he thoughtfully reduced the distance to fifteen. It isn't so much that he is dishonest as that he wants to please, or, even more commonly, that he lacks any real information on the subject. Whenever a native answers out and out, "Ambut" (I don't know), you may be fairly sure that he is angry, and probably lies.

In short, though people know a good deal of conditions during the war, they know very little of present conditions except in Manila. And, as was said, Manila is not a Filipino town. It might better be called the Paris of the Philippines. In it are gathered the rather flashy society of military and civil officials, a collection of wealthy merchants of all races,—Englishmen, Germans, Spaniards, Chinos, and mestizos, who, though mixing with official society, still retain circles of their own,—and a seething crowd of Filipinos, Chinos, and mestizos, small shop-keepers, handicraftsmen, laborers, and beggars. There is no marked characteristic to distinguish it from a dozen other big cities of the East. To it, as to Paris, are

drawn the sons of the best provincial families to receive their education; to it come all foreigners on business intent; thither flock all the reactionaries and malcontents who cannot make a living in their homes; and from it go out practically all the papers that are of influence.

A faction-ridden, artificial, heterogeneous city, as much more liable to sudden capricious change than a homogeneous one as Paris is more changeable than Boston. There is no great common standard of public opinion or civic pride to control it. A great factor for good or evil Manila can be, influencing as it does by its schools and papers almost all the provinces. But side by side with it should be placed the soberer sense of the wealth-producing part of the country, which really is the final court of appeal for the action of the people.

Of those great wealth-producing provinces, from the mountainous, forest-covered but fertile Luzon, down through the rich gardens of the Visayas, to the other wooded and mineral-filled mountains of Mindanao, the average American knows very little. In Luzon great confusion prevails, owing to the fact that the religious orders claim title to most of the land; but in the Visayas, where the friars never established themselves strongly, conditions are said to be changed very little from those of *ante-bellum* days. This reason, as well as from the fact that I know the life there, leads me to select a Visayan pueblo for description. It should be borne in mind, however, that the social order is much the same in all parts of the archipelago inhabited by the Christian Filipinos.

The pueblo, then, consists of a large extent of arable land, containing several villages, one of which by natural position became the trading centre and the seat of the town government, while the others are simply barrios, or wards. The town population consists of perhaps a dozen wealthy families, who own all the land, and are called hacenderos, and some thousands of ordinary folk, who do all the work of fishing, agriculture, and manufacture. The houses of hacenderos and laborers are tumbled together in the most democratic confusion.

These hacenderos are really delightful people. Generally well educated, as far as the commonplaces of education go, intelligent, as the average American is intelligent, they revel in the graces of politeness and hospitality. They are the aristocracy. Never have I seen one of them do a stroke of manual labor or receive a laborer in his house except on business. They form a society of their own, which only one ordained by birth can enter. They are the officers of the municipality, and no other candidate is ever proposed.

The laboring classes, or, as they are generally known, the pobres (poor people), accept the situation with perfect equanimity. There is no class feeling whatever, in the sense of bitter feeling. The pobre is satisfied with enough to eat. He has never heard of any of his family's owning more than a shack and housekeeping utensils, and has no desire for land or responsibility. Tell him what to do, and keep him at it, and he will work. Take your eye off him, and he will go to sleep or start a cock-fight. He is used to and needs a care that is almost paternal.

And yet this pobre, who is more often of unmixed race than the wealthy families, is no "Man with the Hoe." He wants excitement, and therefore gives most of his spare time to gambling, cocks or cards. He rather enjoys being a lardrone, and leading the man in khaki a chase, to turn up at the end of it a peaceful laborer. He will gamble away in an hour the rice or corn that ought to support his family for six months. In short, he has a large share of the childish irresponsibility so common in tropical people.

He is almost, without exception, kind and unaggressive. It is really surprising how little family friction there is, and such a thing as a street fight I have never seen here. In fact, the docile, patient little man is almost lovable. And yet it needs but excitement to reveal the nature underneath. I could relate a dozen tales of murders of the most atrocious kind committed, not against the American foe, but against countrymen who had incurred his hate. The native at peace may be as nice as any one cares to paint him: no words can make him too black, when angry. That he is dishonest

in both word and deed, any dweller here, native or European, who has had servants, can tell you. He is gloriously immoral, changing wives with beautiful impartiality, getting thoroughly stupid on his native drinks, and generally denying in act the creed to which he bows most ceremoniously. Perhaps I am wrong in calling him immoral,—non-moral would be a better term,—for I have yet to meet the low-class native (*pobre*) in whom a trace of conscience is to be discovered, though, in fairness, I must admit that some people claim to have run across a rudiment of that appendage in some localities, particularly Central Luzon.

Remember that all this cruelty, dishonesty, treachery, and moral obtuseness lies deep within him, and that ordinarily he is a fairly pleasant little man. Then put on a veneer of education and culture, and you get the *hacendero*. He will gamble then for bigger sums in a more exclusive game, his improvidence will take the form of princely hospitality, the cruelty and selfish faithlessness will be more deeply covered,—sometimes, it seems, obliterated; but he is the same man, and on provocation every trait which his poorer brother possesses will crop out in him.

As a people, the Filipinos are neither intelligent nor dull, neither good nor bad, neither an advanced race nor savages. Like every other people, some of them are one and some the other. But, unlike other peoples, the two varieties make classes distinguishable with comparative ease. And this for two reasons, because there has never been any general education to lessen the distance between the extremes and because there is no public opinion to induce external conformity of the individual to a selected type.

In this typical pueblo, with its land-owners and laborers, there is a third most important class, the trader. Sometimes he is a Filipino, but generally a Chino, despised and neglected by the *hacendero*, except when he wants money, hated by the *pobres*, but still indispensable; for he is a man of capital. Most of the producers are wofully handicapped by the want of ready money and by heavy mortgages; but the Chino is ever ready to buy crops to any amount, and pay cash. No

member of society has been more persistently decried and underrated than he. The hacien­deros report him as a thing out of the reach of competition, the destroyer of the standard of living; and yet, but for the steady-going yellow man and his capital, his strutting critics would all be miserable bankrupts to-day. The Chino is the one conservative and conserving element, steady, plodding, hard-working, and intelligent, a very different creature from the comic-paper laundryman or the railway coolie of America.

Such are the people of the wealth-producing provinces. What are the political conditions since the Islands have become what a soldier would call pacified? On the Fourth of July last, amid much glitter and loud rejoicing, the Civil Commission instituted its government in a large number of provinces, a mixed rule of Americans and natives, under the provisions of the Provincial Code. And in each pueblo was instituted a municipal government of natives, consisting of a presidente, secretary, treasurer, and councillors from the various barrios, or wards. In the hands of these men the whole government of province and town was placed,—executive power, police, revenue, schools, all the functions of city and state government at home,—under the provisions of the various acts of the commission. As a pretty machine, this government is a success; but, as a government, it is a failure, for the simple reason that it has no power. Instead of growing up among the people, it has been forced upon them ready-made: in other words, the governed do not uphold it and take pride in it. They rather endure, and only obey through force, an alien force.

Let me tell you a few of the things that are happening here on Negros, which has always been called “the peaceful.” The real power here is a battalion of the Sixth Infantry. The mountains are full of ladrones, between whom and the troops trouble is constant. Last autumn I noted a month’s chronology, as follows: September 30, three soldiers killed at Bago and three citizens kidnapped; October 2, fight at Castellana; October 3, outbreak at Vallodolid; October 6, attempt to assassinate the commanding officer at Dumarquete; October 7,



trouble at Gabosa, and so on. A general uprising in which every American on Negros was to be killed was planned for October 20, but was detected by native scouts, and abandoned. On October 20 troops were withdrawn from Pigay, to be replaced by native constabulary; and that night a Swiss, the sole white man in the town, lost the hand in which he held his revolver. October 27 the telegraph wires on both sides of Cadiz Nuevo, the town I was in, were cut, and bodies of troops were actively operating in the vicinity. Since that time, to judge from reports from other parts of the archipelago, conditions have grown worse. News of the massacre of Samar had not reached us at that time; and trouble has since arisen in Panay, Leyte, Cebu, and Bohol, besides a deluge of petitions for restoration of military rule in provinces which were thought to be pacified.

But, it is objected, ladrones are not rebels, they are outlaws. Very true, but the mistake in America consists in supposing that they are social outcasts. On the contrary, I say in all seriousness that the ladrone differs from the ordinary citizen only in having been caught. If he returns undetected to town and takes up his every-day life, he is not shunned, nor does any one take steps to hand him over to the authorities. If a native policeman were sent up into the hills to arrest one of these cut-throats, he would be killed, or perhaps he would join the band as a "prisoner." So the civil government must call upon the military to bring the culprits to justice. But here a difficulty occurs. Rightly or wrongly, the soldiers accuse the civil judges of unwise leniency, some even going so far as to style them "nigger-lovers." Of course, an officer wouldn't do this. But after he has crawled up into the mountains, risking the health and lives of himself and his men, and pulled out a notorious murderer or robber, he naturally hates to see the criminal sentenced to a few years of imprisonment, with the chance of returning to his profession. So for the most part a "hike" never results in a trial. The officer directs the guard to be very careful that the prisoner does not escape. Off they march, and soon the soldiers return. "Where is the prisoner?" asks the lieutenant. "He

tried to escape, sir," said Private A ; and the incident is closed. To be sure, all the men thus killed are murderers, desperadoes ; but that does not make the process civil government. And, though the friends of the dead man say nothing, you may be very sure they remember it ; for they are Malays.

The mind must be very judicial, indeed, which can distinguish between the Filipino army since the fall of Aguinaldo's government and the present band of ladrones, except in point of size. Both wage relentless guerrilla warfare. Both levy on the inhabitants for support, until they are as much dreaded by friend as foe ; for neither hesitates to take cruel vengeance on whatever Filipino refuses aid or reports their depredations to the authorities. Neither tries to hold any territory, but simply to prevent, as far as possible, the establishment of order. And both point to one thing,—that the ordinary Filipino, the pobre, is not the man who will start trouble. He lacks initiative. In every case that I have known the leader was of the upper class, either a middle-aged man who by excess or improvidence had lost his property or a young man who could not get on peaceably with his neighbors, and so turned to violence. His followers naturally comprise both the more daring and the more criminal of the lower class. And his brother hacenderos, no matter how much they protest abhorrence of his acts to an American official, rarely hesitate to receive him in their homes, and almost never aid the government in apprehending him, unless he has attacked their property. They seem rather to be waiting to see which side to take. They want peace ; for they are capitalists, with their all at stake. But, if peace does not bring fair, honorable, and considerate treatment, many of them will continue privately to support, even to instigate, insurrection and violence. I am not a pessimist ; but this is my view of the present situation : a civil government running well, but doing no work ; a military power maintaining order, but doing so only by regulations more summary than any contained in martial law ; and a treacherous and revengeful people.

S. P. R. THOMAS.

CADIZ NUEVO, February 6, 1902.

## REPORT OF COLONEL CORNELIUS GARDENER,

### Civil Governor of Tayabas.

[The report printed below from Colonel Cornelius Gardener, civil governor of the province of Tayabas, Island of Luzon, was handed to Governor Taft with reports from twenty-four other provinces on December 24, 1901, as he was about to sail for America. On reaching Washington, the report from Tayabas (which contained grave charges against the military) was submitted by Governor Taft to the Secretary of War, with the "statement that Colonel Gardener was successful as military commander in Tayabas in keeping it peaceful; that he was a good governor, and was popular with the people"; and that Governor Taft would believe implicitly anything Colonel Gardener stated of his own knowledge. He feared, however, that the "great friction between him [Colonel Gardener] and those officers succeeding him in military command had so influenced his judgment that charges made by him, necessarily based on evidence of others, against the conduct of military affairs in the provinces, ought not to be acted on without giving those accused an opportunity to be heard." Had he read the report before leaving Manila, he would have "referred it to General Chaffee for investigation and comment." \*

On the same day (February 7, 1902), in his testimony before the Senate Committee on the Philippines, Governor Taft presented reports of twenty-three provinces organized under civil rule as evidence of conditions in the Islands, agreeing that other reports, as they came to hand, should be transmitted to the committee as a part of his testimony. The report from Tayabas, also a report from the secretary of the province of Batangas,† were at that time withheld from the committee, Governor Taft explaining later, when the report was called for, that, in submitting the reports from twenty-three governors of organized provinces, he had expressly limited them to those in which there was no insurrection, thereby omitting "Batangas, Samar, Laguna and Tayabas, where there was insurrection." ‡

On April 7, it having come to the notice of a member of the Philippine Committee that a report from the governor of Tayabas was under investigation by the War Department, the committee passed a unanimous vote, as follows: —

*"Resolved,* That the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the Senate Committee on the Philippines with a copy of the report of the

---

\*Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate, in Relation to Affairs in the Philippines, page 888.

† This had been handed to the Secretary of War with the report from Tayabas.

‡ Ibid., 889.

civil governor of Tayabas, and, when received, any report or information from General Chaffee on that subject." \*

In compliance with above request the report of the civil governor of Tayabas was furnished to the committee by the Secretary of War on April 8. The report is as follows: — ]

PROVINCE OF TAYABAS.

LUCENA, P.I., December 16, 1901.

THE CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, MANILA.

*Sir:* As governor, I have the honor to make the following report as to the political and other conditions in this province, and a short review of its history since American occupation.

I came to Tayabas Province with my regiment, the Thirtieth United States Volunteers, on February 4, 1900, and immediately occupied, under orders from General Schwam, its principal towns.

The insurgent troops then occupying the province consisted of 9 companies of 106 men each, about two-thirds of them armed with rifles. Besides the insurgent troops proper, all the male inhabitants of suitable ages were organized into militia or reserves under the cabezas or lieutenants of barrios. These were armed with bolos, and a few with rifles.

The insurgent troops proper did not act as a single body, but were scattered throughout the province, acting in single companies or battalions. The militia or reserves occupied the barrios (villages) in small squads and wore no uniforms.

A vigorous campaign was at once organized against insurgents in arms, with the troops acting under positive orders to shoot no unarmed natives and to burn no houses except barracks.

Looting was prohibited under the strictest penalties. Company and other commanders were ordered to pay for everything taken for necessity or bought from natives.

When the American troops first occupied the province, the towns, by order of the insurgent commander, were entirely depopulated, and all the people lived in the woods and scattered villages, called "barrios."

---

\* Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate, in Relation to Affairs in the Philippines, page 860.

A proclamation was circulated in Spanish and Tagalo by the commanding officer of the American troops setting forth intentions of the American people toward the people of these islands, and promising protection in their lives and property to all peaceably disposed persons.

The troops were ordered to make friends with the people wherever possible, and little by little the towns were repopulated. Many native priests assisted greatly in rehabilitating the towns, and schools were at once started in which detailed American soldiers taught the English language.

The larger towns only were at first garrisoned, it being impracticable, for want of sufficient troops, to garrison all of the 23 pueblos or towns.

A field column composed at different times of from 60 to 120 men was organized, the soldiers being selected from the different garrisons and commanded by able officers. This column was kept in the field for six months, moving from point to point in the province, doing most of its marching and attacking by night.

The garrisons kept the country in their immediate vicinity cleared of armed insurgents. Nearly all the Spanish prisoners from the provinces of Cavite, Laguna and Batangas had been scattered throughout this province and farmed out for safe-keeping in lots of three or four to every cabeza or barrio.

This province is densely wooded and very mountainous, and to liberate these prisoners was a very difficult matter, because upon the approach of the American troops the prisoners would be rushed up and hidden in the mountains. By November of 1900 over 900 had been liberated, or had rushed to our lines, and by December 30 none remained captive.

In a number of severe engagements the insurgent troops were defeated and their organization entirely broken up. Most of the arms were either captured or delivered up, and January 30, of 1901, by reason of constant patrolling, there was no organized insurgent body in this province.

The attitude of the people of the towns at that time was all that could be desired, but the people of the barrios or

villages were still timid and uncertain of American intentions; the more so because these had been longer under the influence of the insurgent leaders and had been formerly most cruelly treated by the Spaniards.

The troops that succeeded the volunteers did not for three months keep up the scouting and patrolling system, and a new force of some 200 insurgents was organized on the border line of the province, armed with guns that had been hidden or brought in from the Laguna Province. This force was, however, in May, 1901, induced to surrender, and that ended the insurrection in Tayabas.

The treatment of the peaceable natives by the incoming troops was, however, much different from what it had been at first. The provincial government was organized on March 12, 1901. By July of that year all of the 23 pueblos had been organized into municipal governments with the single exception of the pueblo of Dolores, which pueblo had been burned by order of General Hall, and there was no town in which to organize a government, every building having been burned in the town proper, except part of the church. Five pueblos had been organized prior to March 1, 1901, under General Orders, No. 40.

The revenues in all the pueblos have been collected regularly since organization, and on November 1 of this year schools were in operation in every organized pueblo, and English was being taught by American teachers in every pueblo but three.

A complete and accurate census of the province has been taken, showing an increase of 15,000 since the census of 1891, a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

A careful vaccination of the entire province has been made, so that now no case of small pox is reported. Twenty-five miles of roads have been repaired and macadamized. Several bridges have been built or repaired.

A court of first instance has been established, justices of the peace and auxiliary justices have been appointed in every pueblo, all of which courts are presided over by natives, to the great satisfaction of every one, because there has as yet occurred no instance of miscarriage of justice.

Three Americans — the governor, the provincial treasurer, and supervisor — are the only Americans holding office in the province.

I have been long of the opinion that our principal efforts in the matter of education should be directed to establishing schools in the barrios, where the masses of the people live. In the towns proper the people are fairly well educated and informed, but in the barrios there prevails the densest ignorance, and not over 5 percent of these people can read or write.

The people of the barrios, while very observant of their religious duties, and a moral, hard-working population, are very ignorant and superstitious and easily imposed upon, for personal gain, by priests religiously and insurgent sympathizers politically, and I have therefore in every way encouraged the establishment of barrio schools where children could be taught elementary knowledge by native teachers in the Tagalao language.

At present there are of such over one hundred in operation in this province, the teachers being paid by the pueblos.

The adjacent provinces of Batangas on the west and Laguna on the north, being during all this time still more or less in a state of insurrection, this province in the month of October last was invaded by a small insurgent force from one of these provinces, which force occupied and roamed at will in the three most westerly pueblos — Tiaon, Vandelaria, and Dolores — and did some forced recruiting in the barrios of these pueblos, also collecting from the people of the barrios by force contributions of money and rice.

Owing to this invasion the entire province is now again practically under military rule, and is being treated as an insurgent province, with civil procedure practically and the writ of habeas corpus actually suspended.

Tulisans or highway robbers had always in Spanish times been a disturbing element in Tayabas, and, because of the mountainous nature of the province, had never been entirely suppressed.

A band of these, composed of the entirely criminal element of the province, and armed with about 60 rifles, but under color of being patriots have in the last two months been

levying contributions in some of the southerly mountainous pueblos of the province and attacking towns. After a two years' experience in this province I am convinced that the Tulsan element can only be successfully operated against by constabulary or native troops, assisted by the native police of the towns, and that whatever insurgents, as such, there still remain in the province, had best now be operated against by natives and not by United States soldiers, and for this reason: In the first place a force of 300 men or more, composed of natives of this province, can easily be recruited here, which, fairly well treated and regularly paid and properly uniformed, could be depended upon to be loyal to its officers and to the United States. Since I have been governor I have travelled all over this province with no other escort than natives. Secondly, as civil governor I feel it my duty to say that it is my firm conviction that the United States troops should, at the earliest possible opportunity, be concentrated in one or two garrisons, if it is thought desirable that the good sentiment and loyalty which formerly existed to the United States government among the people of this province should be conserved and encouraged.

Being in close touch with the people, having visited all the pueblos one or more times, having lived with them in their homes, I know that such a sentiment once existed. Of late, by reason of the conduct of the troops, such as the extensive burning of barrios in trying to lay waste the country so that the insurgents cannot occupy it, the torturing of natives by so-called "water cure" and other methods in order to obtain information, the harsh treatment of natives generally, and the failure of inexperienced, lately appointed lieutenants commanding posts to distinguish between those who are friendly and those unfriendly and treating every native as if he were, whether or no, an insurrecto at heart, this favorable sentiment above referred to is being fast destroyed and a deep hatred toward us engendered. If these things need be done they had best be done by native troops, so that the people of the United States need not be credited therewith.

Almost without exception soldiers, and also many officers, refer to the natives in their presence as "niggers", and the



natives are beginning to understand what the word "nigger" means.

The course now being pursued in this province, and in the provinces of Batangas, Laguna and Samar, is in my opinion sowing the seed for a perpetual revolution, or at least preparing the people of these provinces to rise up in revolution against us hereafter whenever a good opportunity offers. Under present conditions the political situation in this province is slowly retrograding, and the American sentiment is decreasing and we are daily making permanent enemies.

In the course above referred to, troops make no distinction often between the property of those natives who are insurgent or insurgent sympathizers and the property of those who heretofore have risked their lives by being loyal to the United States and giving us information against their countrymen in arms. Often every house in a barrio is burned.

In my opinion the small number of irreconcilable insurgents still in arms, though admittedly difficult to catch, does not justify the means employed, especially when taking into consideration the sufferings that must be undergone by the innocent, and its effect upon the relations with these people hereafter.

The work of the Philippine Commission and the laws that have been enacted by it are everywhere favorably commented upon by the natives. The efforts being made for the general education of the people are appreciated by all. The provincial government and municipal governments established are slowly bringing order out of chaos and anarchy, and there begins to be visible everywhere in this province progress and prosperity. True loyalty and contentment can only come under a benign civil government.

The attitude of the Army, thereby meaning most of its officers and soldiers, is, however, decidedly hostile to the provincial and municipal government in this province and to civil government in these islands in general. In Manila especially it is intensely so, even among the higher officers. The work of the Commission in the establishment of provincial governments is ridiculed, even in presence of the natives. It is openly stated that the Army should remain in charge

for the next twenty years. Outrages committed by officers and soldiers against natives in an organized municipality and province, when reported by the presidente or governor to the military authorities, are often not punished. This, in my opinion, is unfortunate, because loyal natives begin to fear that local self-government promised them will not last long, and that any slight disturbance in a province may at any time be made the pretext to again place it under military rule, and this is just the thing the insurgents at heart most desire.

It has been stated that a Filipino or any Oriental does not appreciate just or kindly treatment and that he considers it an evidence of weakness, and that severe and harsh measures are the only ones that are permanently effective with Filipinos. I have found that just and kind treatment, uniform and continued, is the only way by which these people can be made permanently our friends and satisfied with United States sovereignty.

Having been stationed some six years on the Rio Grande, I am well acquainted with the natives of the State of Tamaulipas, Mexico, and while stationed in the province of Santa Clara, Cuba, I visited every town in that province, and was able to observe the intelligence and education there. I believe that the people of Tayabas Province are in every way superior in education, intelligence, morals, and civilization to the people of Tamaulipas or Santa Clara.

As an officer of the Army, I regret that my duty as civil governor of this province impels me to state the attitude of the majority of my fellow-officers toward civil government in these islands and its effect upon the people, but I feel that the interests of the Government involved and the future of these people, for whose welfare we are responsible, are of such vast importance that I ought to report things as I see and know them, in order that my civil superiors may be able intelligently to order what the situation demands.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CORNELIUS GARDENER,  
*Major, Thirteenth Infantry, U.S. Army,*  
*Provincial Governor.*

## WASHINGTON LETTER.

*By Staff Correspondent.*

Recent events have set Washington to talking on the Philippines, and to a marked degree the country as well. The combination of circumstances which have brought this subject to the front is most peculiar. General Miles, who had long been at odds with the War Department heads, came into open rupture with them, in the course of which an allusion in one of his letters to a report of the civil governor of Tayabas caught the eye of the Democratic minority of the Philippine committee. Its members demanded as a part of the present investigation that they should have this report. There was enough fair-play spirit on the committee, principally voiced by Senator Hale of Maine, to make this request effective. Accordingly, the report of Major Cornelius Gardener was made public, with results that are now familiar history. At about the same time the counter-charges of Major Waller against General Jacob H. Smith came to light, and these messages coming from Manila were re-enforced by the water-cure testimony before the committee.

Public sentiment in and out of Congress has been greatly affected by these disclosures. Several Republican senators, who have never been rated as anti-imperialists, promptly confided to their friends that they did not like the looks of things. Senator Cullom, of Illinois, has been quoted as in this frame of mind. The knowledge of conditions military in the Philippines, as it thus comes to light, divides the Republican camp into two parts. One part declares itself unmoved by anything of this sort. The Islands, they say, belong to us. Their inhabitants must abide by our laws or suffer the consequences, and they care not how painful these may be. Destiny points the way. The other school of Republican opinion is willing to believe in the imperialistic policy only in case and to the extent that it is reasonably beneficent. If brutality and continued warfare are necessary in order to keep brown men in subjugation, they doubt very much if it is worth while or morally justifiable. The contest of opinions now going on

is for the control of this latter class, since it holds the balance of popular power. The imperialists, who shrink at nothing, are in a minority. The anti-imperialists are also in a minority, probably a much smaller one. Those occupying the middle ground, who would like to see our flag floating in Asia, provided it could do so honorably, or gradually withdrawn if it must float over forcible conquest, will be the ones ultimately to decide the momentous question, and hence the importance of the recent disclosures.

It never rains but it pours. General Smith, who is to be tried by court-martial, wrote for the *Manila Critic*, issue of February 1, an article which has reached here by mail, and is not doing his case much good. He wrote of Samar:—

“It did not take long before it was quite patent to any observer that only the Fire and Sword policy could succeed in bringing these people to understand that they must come under the absolute and complete control of the United States. The inhabitants are all our enemies, and those who live near our garrisons do so only to give assistance to the armed ones in the mountains. And it seems almost impossible to impress this fact upon our officers and soldiers who have the love for the little ‘Brown Brothers’ engrafted in their natures. None of the natives have any love for the Americans, but rather secret hate in their souls for anything pertaining to the United States, save food. They obey the wishes, orders, and requirements of Lukban through fear, a feeling which we must instill into them by making ‘War Hell.’ The word ‘Amigo’ is used by them only to deceive the officers and soldiers—the ‘White Flag’ an emblem of treachery. It is a fair rule to go by that the first five stories of the Samarite are lies, and the truth only to be obtained when it is to his interest to gain the confidence of an officer or soldier in order to betray this confidence at the first opportunity. . . .

“The new troops took up the trails and severe punishment was meted out to the enemy. Concentration was the order; and, while the transportation was inadequate to make the changes quickly, increased activity was required of all the stations, and a vigorous policy produced good results. Food supplies were cut off from getting to the interior of the island; smuggling prevented, and all traffic in hemp was suspended in both Leyte and Samar.

"Bands of Insurgents were annihilated and their cuartels and stores of rice destroyed until the cry went up from the merchants of Leyte who had been aiding Lukban's forces by paying to their agents the two pesos per picul Lukban had demanded. And accompanying this howl were appeals from both Samar and Leyte for food. Salt and rice from Leyte were called for by Lukban, and thus it became necessary to apply the proverb: 'Deeds not words,' etc. I announced that protestations of friendship for us were of no avail, and that evidences of good faith on their part, such as bringing in guns and assassins of Balangiga, or equivalent information and guidance to where our enemies were located were necessary before food and traffic in hemp and tobacco and other products would be permitted. The lack of effective support by the civil authorities and the influence of the foreign business men caused some trouble; still the pressure was continued until we had accomplished the objects aimed at.

"Leyte is a seething caldron of discontent, and ere long the inhabitants of it will have to undergo the same heroic treatment which is being applied to Samar. And first and foremost the foreign merchants ought to be deported, thus freeing us from an element most disloyal to our United States Government."

When such articles, the meaning of which is very easy to read between the lines, get into the American press, the question involved in our Asiatic experiment cannot fail to gain attention. Some of these things would doubtless have come out, had there been no investigation, and no friction between General Miles and the administration. But why the investigation was really begun remains a mystery. Some senators believe that Mr. Lodge and Mr. Beveridge and their allies were so confident of their control of the situation that they expected to secure a crop of testimony which would greatly aid the cause of its harvesters. In this they have been mistaken. The questions they have asked each water-cure witness in regard to the atrocities of the Filipinos really have no relevancy. An order to kill all persons over ten years of age finds no justification in anything that the insurgents may do to our soldiers.

It is notable how issues dovetail into one another. Certain Schley newspapers, which had been for years attacking

General Miles, became his ardent champion when he incurred the displeasure of the administration by speaking out for Schley. To-day, as an obligation to Schley, these same newspapers feel called upon to emphasize the revelations which Miles's letter brought to light. The Boer cause has, in the same way, aided the anti-imperialist cause. Colorado was originally an imperialistic State. Senator Teller voted for the treaty, and the *Rocky Mountain News*, owned by Thomas M. Patterson, now senator, was strongly in favor of retaining the Philippines and of subduing the insurgents; but the pro-Boer idea became strong, and with it by a certain logic a pro-Filipino feeling. Till now the Colorado legislature is sending on to Washington such petitions as an anti-imperialistic league might write, and both its senators are fighting valiantly in that cause. Senator Du Bois, of Idaho, is so moved by the miseries of the Filipinos that he wants to talk of nothing else. Henry Watterson, an original imperialist, has brought his great newspaper around to the opposite view, doubtless doing so because he sees the coming predominance of this as Democratic issue. In both Houses of Congress the Democrats are lining up for Philippine independence.

Meanwhile the Republicans of the Senate committee have materially modified the Philippine government bill, as drafted at the War Department. Governor Taft originally recommended an explicit promise of early local government for the archipelago. He favored the announcement of a definite date as an encouragement to the Federal party and an aid to the restoration of peace. To this plan so much opposition developed that a second edition of the Philippine bill provided for the establishment of local government on the coming of peace, to be proclaimed by the President at his discretion. An enlarged Philippine commission, appointed by the President, was to be the upper house, so that the local government could not get very far away, in any event, from the wishes of the parent Republic. But even this was too much for the Senate committee to allow. Its majority bill as reported provides that as soon as a general and complete peace shall have been established a census of the people of

the Philippine Islands shall be taken, covering all the information necessary to enable Congress to establish intelligently a permanent popular representative government for all the Islands. The bill also allows the Philippine Commission to provide additional provincial and municipal governments without waiting for further legislation from Congress.

This is a pretty niggardly grant of home rule.

## PHILIPPINE AFFAIRS IN CONGRESS.

Since the last number of the *Review* went to press, the bill "temporarily to provide revenue" for the Philippines (H. R. 5833) has passed both Houses and has been signed by the President. But two substantial amendments were made to it: one reducing the Dingley tariff on goods brought from the Islands to this country by 25 per cent.; the other, moved by Senator Hoar, providing that there should be no conviction for treason in the Islands except on the testimony of two witnesses to the same act. A second amendment of Senator Hoar's, providing that no one should be convicted or punished for failing to give information against a husband or wife, father or mother, son or daughter, was passed by a vote of thirty-eight to thirty-four, but was lost in conference.\*

During the debates on two other bills the Philippine question was raised in the House as well as in the Senate,—the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Army Appropriation Bill.† Little that was to the point at issue was said in any of these cases; and the most interesting thing to note is that the Chinese Exclusion Bill applies to all territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, and that Chinese in the Philippines may have twelve months to get their certificates of lawful residence. Senator Lodge considered that there was no occasion for the Philippine Committee to take the question up,—that it might be left to the Committee on Immigration. A short argument, during which he said that he would vote for no bill which did not protect the Philippines from "the invasion of Chinese immigration," will be found on pages 4504, 4505, of the *Record*. On the same occasion, Senator Platt, of Connecticut, contended that the real object of the Chinese Exclusion Act was to protect American labor, and that the question, as far as the Philippines went, should be settled with other Philippine matters. Senator Rawlins argued that

---

\* 2245, 2479. See also, in connection with these, 2249-58, and the article on the Philippine Commission's Treason Act in the *Review*, page 133.

† 3570, 3576, 3592, 3640, 4004, 4217, 4504.



Governor Taft as well as General Otis and General MacArthur were in favor of Chinese exclusion.\*

A bill "temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands and for other purposes" was reported in the Senate † on March 31 by Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts; and a similar bill was reported in the House ‡ on April 8 by Mr. Cooper, of Wisconsin.

The main features of the Senate bill are:—

That the acts of the Philippine Commission be confirmed, and its government continued until otherwise provided by law.

That hereafter the civil governor, vice-governor, members of the commission, and heads of departments be appointed by the President of the United States, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate. The chief justice and associate chief justice to be in like manner appointed and confirmed.

That all natives shall be deemed "citizens of the Philippine Islands, and as such entitled to the protection of the United States."

That whenever a general and complete peace shall have been established to the satisfaction of the commission and the President of the United States, a census shall be taken gathering information "needful to inform the President and Congress concerning the capacity, fitness, and readiness of all the people of the Philippine Islands . . . for the establishment and maintenance . . . of a permanent, popular representative government." § Meanwhile the Philippine Commission shall organize provinces and municipalities at their discretion with popular representative government, the electorate to be

---

\* See also 4412, 4418.

† Section 2295.

‡ H. R. 13445.

§ On this point the Cooper Bill provides that, when peace is established, a general election shall be held for delegates to the Philippine Assembly, all power heretofore conferred upon the Philippine Commission shall be thereafter vested in a legislature of two houses, consisting of the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly, and that two commissioners to the United States shall be chosen by popular vote.

the same as now existing in municipalities or to be enlarged at the discretion of the commission. As long as armed resistance to the United States continues, the "President shall continue the regulation and control of commerce with and within said archipelago."

That the commission is authorized to acquire the church lands by right of eminent domain, issuing bonds in payment for the same.

That public lands may be leased for terms of five years to individuals in lots of not more than one hundred and sixty acres and to corporations of not more than five thousand acres, timber cut upon such lands to be subject to government regulation.

That mining claims and allied rights in public lands be authorized, detailed provisions being made for the same.

That municipalities may issue bonds for public improvements.

That franchises may be granted for public improvements, *provided*, that they be subject to amendment or repeal by Congress; that stocks or bonds be issued only in exchange for actual cash; that public service corporations be subject to regulation of charges, official inspection, and the payment of a reasonable percentage of earnings into the public treasury.

That an unlimited coinage of silver dollars of practically the same weight and fineness as the Mexican dollar now in use be authorized, the same to be legal tender except where otherwise provided; subsidiary coins to be issued in such quantity as may be needed.

That appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court in cases involving the construction of any statute, treaty, title, right, privilege or obligation of the United States, and in cases where the value in controversy exceeds five thousand dollars.

Upon the same date that Senator Lodge reported the Senate Bill, Senator Rawlins reported a substitute \* bill

---

\* 4585. A minority bill had likewise been reported to the House, providing a temporary government in the Philippines for a period of eight years, at which time the Islands should become independent.

entitled "A Bill to promote the Welfare and establish the Independence of the Philippine Islands." The substitute begins with a declaration of our intention to make the Philippines independent. It provides that, within ninety days after the insurrection stops, elections should be held for delegates to a constitutional convention, and that as soon as the natives had organized a government the United States should withdraw, reserving only coaling stations and promising protection from interference by other powers.

Debate upon the Lodge Bill was opening in the Senate as the *Review* goes to press.\*

---

\* On several occasions documents were printed in the *Record* which will doubtless be referred to frequently. General Bell's reconcentration order will be found on page 1714. Quotations from General Funston's account of his capture of Aguinaldo, and from authorities on the rules of war arranged and explained by Senator Patterson, begin at page 3550. A letter by Mr. Charles Denby, giving his view of our proper course in the Islands, is reprinted from the *Chicago Tribune* on page 4336. A speech in the House, in which Mr. Green, of Pennsylvania, gave the results of his personal observations in the Philippines, is reported on page 3393. Mr. Green thinks it would be a mistake to hold the Islands. Correspondence and documents bearing on the history of the Federal Party will be found at pages 2038 and 2249-58.

## CURRENT PHILIPPINE LITERATURE.

---

### IMPORTANT MAGAZINE ARTICLES PUBLISHED DURING MARCH AND APRIL.

PHILIPPINE FUNDAMENTALS. By Jacob Gould Schurman.—*Gunton's Magazine*, April, 1902.

The future of the Philippines, Dr. Schurman holds, is an open question, the American people having never passed upon the ultimate destiny of the Islands. Even the Republican platforms in no way bind the party to retain the Islands permanently, and anti-imperial Republicans will be quite as helpful as pro-colonial and jingo Republicans in effecting a wise solution of our Philippine perplexities. Since the slavery issue no question of equal gravity has confronted the American people; and when, in spite of assurances that the Philippines are pacified, there is an attempt to suppress discussion of the subject, it is seen that a movement is on foot which, if it should prevail, would be death to the American Republic. We can live without the Philippines, but without free discussion the Republic cannot endure.

Two sets of forces, the one ideal, the other material, are operating to-day upon the minds of both Americans and Filipinos. Considering first the question of material advantage to the United States, the Philippines are condemned by Dr. Schurman as a valueless acquisition. Naval stations in the East we no doubt need, but we can have them in the Philippines without possessing sovereignty. In general, the government of a subject people brings only responsibility, while it is an undeniable source of military weakness. In the case in question our sovereignty in the Philippines is both embarrassing to our principles and profitless to our pockets. Considering the question of material interests from a Filipino point of view, the action of Congress upon the tariff shows that no great trade advantages can be expected by the people of our new dependencies.

Turning to the psychological, the ideal consideration, Dr. Schurman holds that, while the Filipinos, like other nations, desire good government, there is something that they desire more ardently. A good government imposed on them by a foreign nation appears to be in no way to their taste. They desire to conduct their own affairs, even if the result seems to us far inferior. Except those who hold office under our rule, Dr. Schurman believes the people are practically unanimous in their desire for independence. We in America have assumed a colonial policy in the Philippines as a matter of course, but this no Filipino will endure. There are Filipinos who support our sovereignty on the understanding that the Philippines will be admitted into the Union, but this no American will endure. The resultant of these psychological forces must be Philippine independence.

"The civilized and Christianized democracy of Luzon and the Visayas desire independence. They are fairly entitled to it; and, united as they now are, I think they might very soon be safely intrusted with it. In their educated men, as thorough gentlemen as one meets in Europe or America, this democracy of 6,500,000 Christians has its foreordained leaders."

How shall the American people meet this appeal of the Filipinos to pity, to honor, and to the sacred name of liberty? The Americans are under obligation to the civilized world for the maintenance of peace, order, and justice in the Philippines, and they will tolerate no interference from other nations in carrying out this undertaking; but at the same time we Americans have always cherished, and still cherish, a profound sympathy for people struggling for independence, and hence it seems certain that, when the Filipinos secure an organ of government for the expression of their views and desires, if they ask independence, it will be granted, "provided only they are in a position to relieve us of the international obligations we have assumed . . . by the Treaty of Paris." Not only do our material interests and our sympathies with their aspirations demand this, but the demand is re-enforced by the necessities of our form of government. The American people cannot be democratic at home and despotic in Asia; and unless the Islands be admitted as a State into the Union, which is forever impracticable, independence of the Philippines is the only alternative to despotism.

When our friend Mr. Bryce says that "the United States ignore the principles of their Declaration of Independence when they proceed to subjugate by force the Philippine Islanders," I reply that our action is the result of temporary necessities; and, when he concludes that "the Americans will doubtless in time either reconcile themselves to their illogical position or alter it," I predict they will alter it. For the controlling factors are material advantage and moral and political sentiment, and both point the way of ultimate independence.

THE PHILIPPINES: THE ECONOMIC FUTURE. By Charles A. Conant.—*Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1902.\*

This article points out the close relation of political to economic problems in the East. An increase in the product of labor is the crying need of Eastern countries, and this need can be met only under Caucasian leadership. With a greater producing power the native standard of living can be raised, and the people develop a greater capacity as consumers. In the Philippines, in spite of an enormous birth-rate, population is practically stationary, owing to an appalling death-rate of children. With the introduction of civilized methods, however, this death-rate will

---

\* Another article entitled "Our Work in the Philippines," by the same author, appears in the *International Monthly* for March.

be checked, while it is hoped that the increase of population will be met as in more advanced countries, where the pressure of population upon subsistence has taught restraint and promoted a greater productive power on the part of the industrial worker. Encouragement to labor becomes for the first time possible when an enlightened government protects the lives and property of those who from time immemorial have been subject to violence and extortions.

The question whether or not the Philippines will pay is one, Mr. Conant asserts, that cannot be answered in this generation. Governments in their colonial policy act for generations unborn, as they do in constructing harbors, light-houses, founding educational establishments etc. Colonial enterprises are chiefly valuable as offering a field for investment and securing markets for surplus products, and this latter can occur only as new wants develop in the subject people. A necessity for new markets and new fields for investment is recognized by statesmen of all countries; and, even if the Philippines were barren of productive results for a while, the United States is to be congratulated "in having wrested from Spain one of the most fertile and promising domains of the Pacific."

THE PHILIPPINES: THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM. By Fred. W. Atkinson.—*Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1902.

"The problem of establishing an American school system in the Philippines," Mr. Atkinson says, involves the problem of supplanting an old system deeply interwoven with the religious beliefs and social institutions of a semi-civilized people. Under Spanish rule nearly every town had its school where reading, writing, and the catechism were taught by methods recalling those of "European school systems of more than a hundred years ago." The Filipinos had long been restive under these backward methods imposed on them by the friars, and had thirsted for Western education, every revolutionary programme having given a prominent place to the establishment of schools and colleges. It was amid such cravings after light that the American appeared, to give education a more popular extension and a more liberal character. With the educational system introduced by the United States government the warfare against superficiality and ignorance has begun. Contrary to the desires of the Filipinos, provision for higher education is postponed in the belief that a general knowledge of English and clear ideas on a few subjects by the masses is the urgent need of the hour. The English language, as soon as practicable, will be made the basis of all public school instruction; and the teaching of religion is banished from the public schools, except that religious denominations may send teachers several times a week who shall give religious instruction to children whose parents desire it. An expenditure of \$400,000 for construction and equipment of buildings

and \$220,000 for the purchase of school books and supplies is provided for the first year. The salary roll of teachers has grown within a year from \$1,000 to \$100,000 a month. While Mr. Atkinson believes that the educational opportunities which America is offering go far to disarm Filipino suspicion and opposition, he adds: "I doubt if at present there is any strong desire on the part of the Filipinos to become Americanized. 'Nevertheless, the eagerness of the people for education is so great as to constitute a real coincidence of American and Filipino interests.' The people have demonstrated their support of the present system by voluntary contributions of money and by the cordial hospitality with which they have welcomed the American teachers." "There may be interruptions and set-backs in this interesting and unique attempt to force Western ideals and traditions upon an Eastern people,—a people most unlike us, possessing ideals and traditions totally different." But it is hoped that "the educational representatives of the American nation, with the saving grace of common sense, will meet the situation by training up a generation of Filipino youths to regenerate their own country."

EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Fred. W. Atkinson.—*The Outlook*, April, 1902.

In addition to much that is common to the article summarized above, Mr. Atkinson notes in this article that since the coming of the Americans "private schools have sprung up like mushrooms, including parochial schools, branches of the Lyceo de Manila designed as feeders to that institution, and secondary institutions." In all these the methods of the old order are perpetuated, and teaching is in Spanish or the vernacular.

EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Antonio R. Jurado, L.L.D., ex-Commissioner of Education of Manila.—*The Arena*, April, 1902.

In this article the ex-Commissioner of Education criticises the educational undertakings of the United States in the Philippines. The author first contrasts the early provisions of the Spanish government for the education of the Filipinos (for whose benefit a university was founded in 1601, thirty-five years before the first university was founded in America) with the educational system of the Pilgrims in New England, "who founded schools for the education of their own sons, while it is not of record that many of the native inhabitants were invited into the school-rooms."

Coming down to modern times, the author touches upon the repeated struggles of the Filipinos to secure educational reforms, always blocked by the opposition of the friars; and he claims that at the time of the "American invasion" there were some two thousand Filipinos in the Islands who were graduates of foreign universities, while some seventy per cent. of the people have received a primary education. The practice

of forcing English upon the Filipino children is criticised, as also the method of teaching English by Americans who cannot speak the language of their pupils. Meanwhile there are hundreds of Filipino Normal School graduates who are competent to direct primary education, and who are being displaced by the influx of American school-teachers. Technical schools, it is conceded, are needed; also, public libraries, it being suggested that Mr. Carnegie might find a field in the Philippines for beneficent activity. For the rest, however, the Filipinos themselves are competent to introduce the reforms in education which are demanded. If a board of education were put in control of the immense educational funds now unjustly claimed by the Church, only slight additional sums need be raised by taxation or otherwise; and the Filipinos would then be in a position to do for themselves what their racial relations, the Japanese, have done. They will need some guidance, of course, and technical and industrial schools must be instructed by Americans, but they are ambitious to do for themselves all that they possibly can; and they are certainly able to direct their own primary, secondary, and, in large measure, college education. The Filipinos know what they want, and it is not necessary for Americans to take upon themselves the duty of explaining wherein their educational system is lacking.

In conclusion the author urges that the United States has made mistakes "because it has not cared to ask the advice of Filipinos competent to give it. The Philippine Islands are not inhabited by savages, but in a large measure by persons competent to discuss any subject with the broadest-minded men in Washington. Filipinos have filled the highest offices in Spain, from the premiership down; and the United States will have to realize this fact before it can be successful in its rule over the archipelago. The matter of education is of as vital importance to the natives as it is to the American colonial policy. Let the United States, then, give a hearing to the Filipinos before continuing its present course, which, even if it does not result disastrously, will prove useless."

THE NEW LANGUAGE DESPOTISM IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Bryan J. Clinch.—*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April, 1902.

The attempt of the United States to introduce English into the Philippines is likened by the author of this article to the action of Russia and Germany in their foreign-speaking provinces. That "autocratic sovereigns should be guilty of such tyranny is not to be wondered at; but what is to be thought of a similar policy, . . . when put forward by men claiming as their motive the spirit of American ideas of popular liberty?" An examination of historical precedents shows that until recent years rulers have respected the social conditions of conquered provinces, the new impulse for subjecting language to state regulation being attributed by the author to the general mania for regulating society on scientific



principles which followed the French Revolution. Such ideas were too favorable to absolutism to be neglected by reactionary rulers. The ill success of the efforts to unify language in Russia, Germany, and Austria, is then contrasted by the author with the strong sense of national loyalty in Belgium and Switzerland, where a diversity of tongues is tolerated.

Turning to the Philippines, the author contrasts the devotion of the Spanish friars in learning the native languages with the arrogance of the new programme of forcing English upon the people. The alleged impossibility of translating the American text-books into native dialects is shown to be trifling compared with the difficulties successfully met by Spain in the way of teaching religion in the native languages. Further, the regulation that religion shall no longer be a feature of public instruction is strongly censured. "Up to this time the Catholic faith has been the basis on which all moral ideas and moral life of the Filipino has rested. That their morality on all points which are recognized by society and law throughout the civilized world is at least equal to the average of our own is not denied." How is this moral condition likely to be affected by the exclusion of religious teaching from the school course, and the selection of teachers on the ground of a knowledge of a foreign language and contempt of that spoken by their pupils? In the United States a difference of language has been tolerated among the Germans of Pennsylvania, the French of Louisiana, and the Spanish in California ; but such liberty is denied to the Filipinos by Judge Taft, who limits even the suffrage to those who can speak a foreign language, excepting from this requirement only those who come up to a property qualification. Were such an educational test applied in this country, it would make suffrage a mockery. To the commissioners it may be satisfactory to declare that Tagal is of no use to them or to any one else, but it will "hardly be to seven millions of human beings who are lightly told that the speech which has been handed down to them from their fathers and their fathers' fathers," and in which they have spoken and thought and prayed since infancy, must be changed for a tongue of another race "because their rulings of yesterday find it impracticable to provide school primers in that speech." Tagals and Visayans are men, and have the feelings of men, even though they are "mere Malays." To persist in this course, the author concludes, "will plant a root of bitterness which may become a tree of no small dimensions."

## SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS.

*From February 14 to April 21.*

February 24.—A force of native constabulary at Santa Cruz, province of Laguna, Luzon, has captured Cortez, second in command to the insurgent General Malvar. Cortez was engaged in raising funds for the insurrection. A friendly native informed Inspector Sorensen of this fact, and the capture followed.

Large numbers of insurgents, driven from Batangas and Laguna, have joined the ladrones in the neighboring province of Cavite, where the native constabulary are hounding them from place to place. General Trias, the present governor of Cavite, who formerly bitterly opposed the Americans in that district, has given proof of his true friendliness by using every effort to run down and capture the Cavite ladrones. The natives of Cavite province, provoked by the continued disorders of the ladrones, are spontaneously offering themselves in large numbers to assist the authorities. The civil commission recognizes this attitude to be largely due to the influence of General Trias.

February 27.—General Lukban was captured on the 22d by Lieutenant Stribler of the Philippine scouts. General Chaffee has ordered that Lukban be treated as a prisoner of war of officer's rank.

William C. Dunston, said to be a deserter from Company C, Eighth Infantry, was captured in Samar by Second Lieutenant Pratt. He had in his possession arms and ammunition, and all the tools necessary for making ammunition. The lieutenant also destroyed the cuartel and factory, killed eleven soldiers, captured all Dunston's correspondence as well as six rifles, four shot-guns, several revolvers, and twenty-five bolos.

March 3.—While Governor Flores, of the province of Rizal, was chasing a band of ladrones over the hills of Cavite province, the leader of the band, with twenty-five armed men, entered the town of Cayta in Morong province, and captured the presidente, Señor Ampil, and a majority of the police of the town. Señor Ampil has long been known as an enthusiastic American sympathizer, and it is feared that he may be killed by the enraged ladrones. A strong force of constabulary has been sent to effect his release.

The correspondence captured with General Lukban in Samar implicates several Filipinos heretofore unsuspected.

The American, Spanish, British, and German merchants of Manila and the local press have held a meeting to remonstrate against the prohibitive tariff, which they declare to be crippling the industries and resources of the archipelago. Subscriptions were taken to send a cablegram to Washington setting forth these views.

A cablegram has been received from the governor of Cebu, saying that a violent assault has been committed by the municipal police upon

the Spanish consul. The assault is supposed to have been instigated by the presidente, who has been suspended pending investigation. The consul was popular and well liked.

March 17.—Guevarra, the insurgent leader, has issued a proclamation in the island of Samar, declaring that he has succeeded General Lukban. Guevarra also says he has been compelled unwillingly to issue this proclamation.

March 25.—Señor Torres, of Marinduque, has been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for sedition. This is the first sentence on this charge.

The remnant of the insurgent force in Laguna province, under Caballos, has surrendered to Lieutenant Colonel Dougherty of the Seventh Infantry. Forty-seven rifles and eighteen revolvers were turned in. Caballos has ordered the insurgents remaining in Laguna to cease hostilities.

General Maxilom and his brother, who were arrested in Cebu for having concealed rifles and ammunition in their possession, made a desperate attempt to escape while being conveyed in a launch to the town of Cebu. They stabbed the master of the launch, but were overpowered. General Maxilom's brother was killed.

March 24.—Reports from Brigadier-general Davis at Zamboanga, island of Mindanao, state that a detachment of the signal corps, numbering seventeen men, was attacked by a band of Moros. One man was killed.

March 27.—Noriel, the only insurgent general except Malvar still in the field, has been captured by Lieutenant Bamford of the Twenty-eighth Infantry. A major, a captain, a lieutenant, and five men who were acting as his body-guard were captured with him. Noriel has been one of the recognized leaders of the insurrection since 1899. He admits that the insurrection, as such, is over, and says that the few remaining leaders are fleeing, as they do not command enough men to warrant surrender commensurate with their rank.

In the court martial of Major Littleton W. T. Waller of the marine corps, on charge of killing natives of Samar without trial, a native scout testified to the existence of a plot among the native bearers to murder Major Waller and Lieutenant Williams. He said that, when the marines had rations, they shared with the natives.

March 28.—General Smith, who is in command of the forces in Samar, had a three hours' interview at Manila Wednesday with the insurgent General Guevarra and several officers of his command. Guevarra has arranged that the entire force under his command, with all their rifles, should surrender April 15. The serviceable rifles to be turned over number 250. General Smith said he was surprised at Guevarra's bearing, and that the insurgent leader impressed him as being a man of resource and devoted to a high purpose.

April 7.—General Smith has arrived in Manila to testify in the case of Major Waller. General Smith said he considered Guevarra, the rebel leader in Samar who is to surrender the 15th, to be a man of energy and intelligence, and that the armistice in Samar had been faithfully kept.

April 9.—Major Waller testified to-day that General Jacob M. Smith, in command of the American troops at Samar, instructed him to kill and burn; said that the more he killed and burned, the better pleased he would be; that it was no time to take prisoners, and that he was to make Samar a howling wilderness. Asked to define the age limit for killing, General Smith had answered, "Everything over ten."

A party of fifty ladrones attacked members of the constabulary of Sorogon, Southern Luzon, and captured three of them. The prisoners were treated with the greatest barbarity, and were finally cut to pieces. A large force of constabulary went in pursuit of the ladrones.

April 13.—Major Waller has been declared not guilty, the court standing eleven to two for acquittal.

April 17.—General Malvar has surrendered unconditionally to General Bell at Lipa, Batangas province, with the entire insurgent force of the provinces of Laguna and Batangas. General Bell says he can quell the insurrection in Tayabas and Cavite, and capture all those who have not yet surrendered; but Malvar has ordered the surrender of every insurgent to the nearest American force. General Wheaton reports that all resistance in his department has ended, and that the surrenders just announced mean that the ports will be opened and the Filipinos in the detention camps can be allowed to return to their homes in time to plant the crops.

General Wheaton is especially pleased with General Bell's care of the natives confined in the camps. The officers in charge are held personally responsible for the quality and quantity of the food served, and for the general welfare of the occupants of the camps. Numbers of Filipinos have volunteered as bolomen to act against the ladrones, and expressed the liveliest satisfaction at the treatment accorded to themselves and their families who were in the reconcentration camps. General Wheaton gives General Bell great credit for his indefatigability in conducting the campaign. He was in the field day and night, personally superintending the most arduous undertakings.

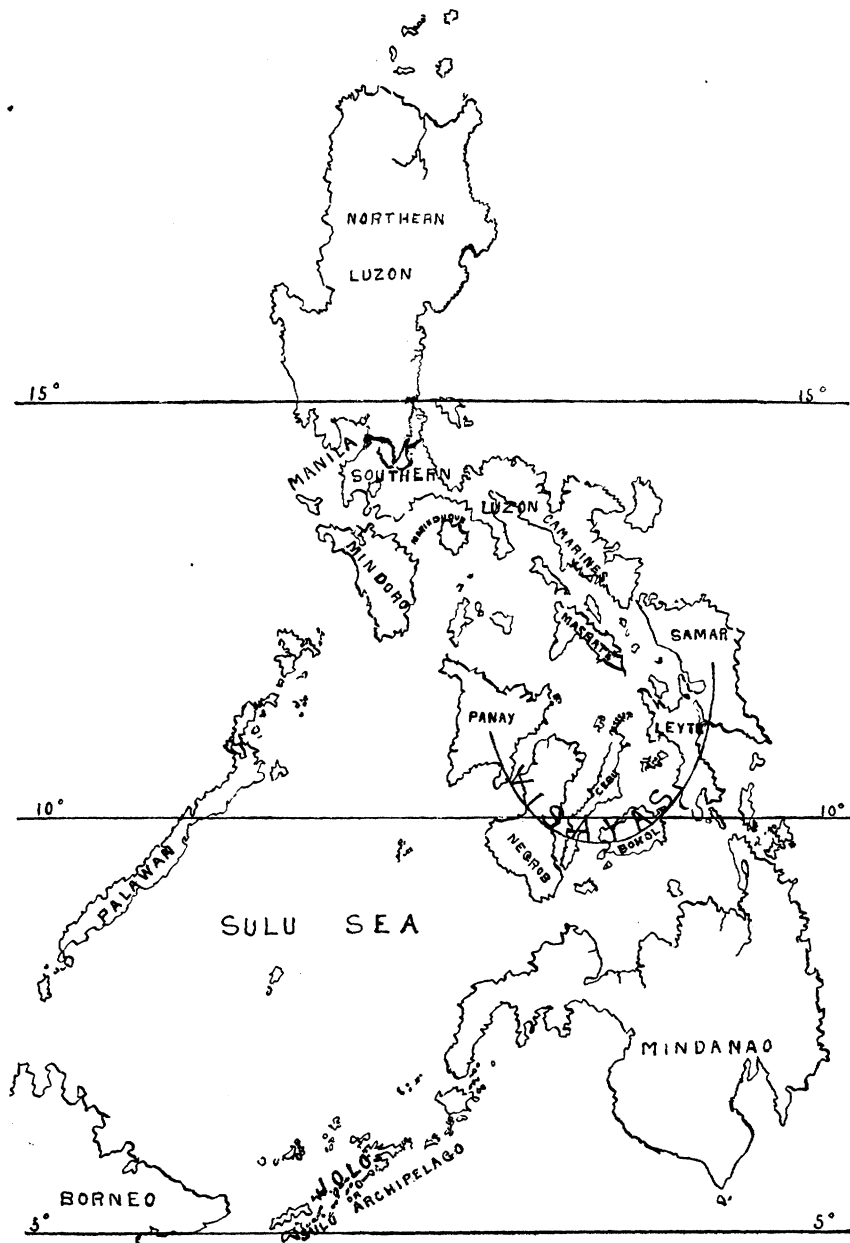
The people of Manila are delighted at the prospect of a resumption of trade, and appreciate the fact that the insurrection is really over. About 3,300 rifles have been received in Batangas and Laguna in the last four months. General Malvar personally requested an interview with General Bell, in order to make complete submission. The lack of news from Samar is due to a defective cable. It is believed that all the insurgents surrendered on Tuesday, unless the plans were altered.

April 21.—Small parties of insurgents surrender daily; and these have

increased since the recent surrender of the insurgent general, Malvar. General Rufino, with 26 officers and 375 soldiers, has surrendered in Misamis, in Mindanao.

General Chaffee has forwarded to General J. Franklin Bell the congratulations sent the latter by President Roosevelt upon his recent campaign in Batangas and Laguna provinces.

The United States army transport "Buford" left here to-day for San Francisco, after having been detained in quarantine for five days. General Jacob H. Smith was to have gone home on the "Buford," but has disembarked, orders having been received that a court of inquiry into the general conduct of affairs in Samar is to be held. General Smith claims that his command in Samar had to face insurmountable difficulties, and that the treachery of the natives is unequalled in the history of warfare. He says that the soldiers acted with the greatest forbearance shown in the war.









## FACTS ABOUT THE FILIPINOS

As found in United States Documents and Other Authentic Publications.

---

This series of ten pamphlets has been prepared by the Philippine Information Society with a view to rendering easily accessible to the American people the most authentic information obtainable with regard to the people of the Philippine Islands, and our relations to them. The series covers the history of Philippine affairs from May, 1898, to July, 1901, drawn chiefly from Government Documents, and furnished with full references. The publications are not edited in the interest of any party or policy, and have been generally accepted as authoritative and judicial. It is believed that they will be of particular value to students and teachers of history.

---

The topics dealt with in the first series are as follows :

1. The Islands and the People.
2. Were Promises made to Aguinaldo? Our Relations with the Insurgents prior to the Fall of Manila, August, 1898.
3. The Crucial Test : The Insurgent Government of 1898.
4. The Parting of the Ways: Aguinaldo and the American Generals, August, 1898, to January, 1899.
5. Crossing the Rubicon : An Episode of January, 1899, and Incidents leading up to the Outbreak of Hostilities.
6. Outbreak of Hostilities, February 4, 1899, and Seeking an Armistice, April and May, 1899.
7. Luzon Campaign of 1899.
8. Taking the Southern Islands, January, 1898, to July, 1900.
9. A Period of Guerrilla Warfare, November, 1899, to September, 1900.
10. Progress in Pacification, September, 1900, to July, 1901.

---

These Publications may be obtained from the Philippine Information Society, 62 Wall Street, New York. Price, \$1.00. Single copies, 10 cents.





THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DATE DUE

MAR 2 1981

MAR 2  
MAR 19 1981

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

3 9015 04877 8107

BOOK CARD  
DO NOT REMOVE

A Charge will be made  
if this card is mutilated  
or not returned  
with the book

GRADUATE LIBRARY  
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN  
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

GL

DO NOT REMOVE  
OR  
MUTILATE CARD

